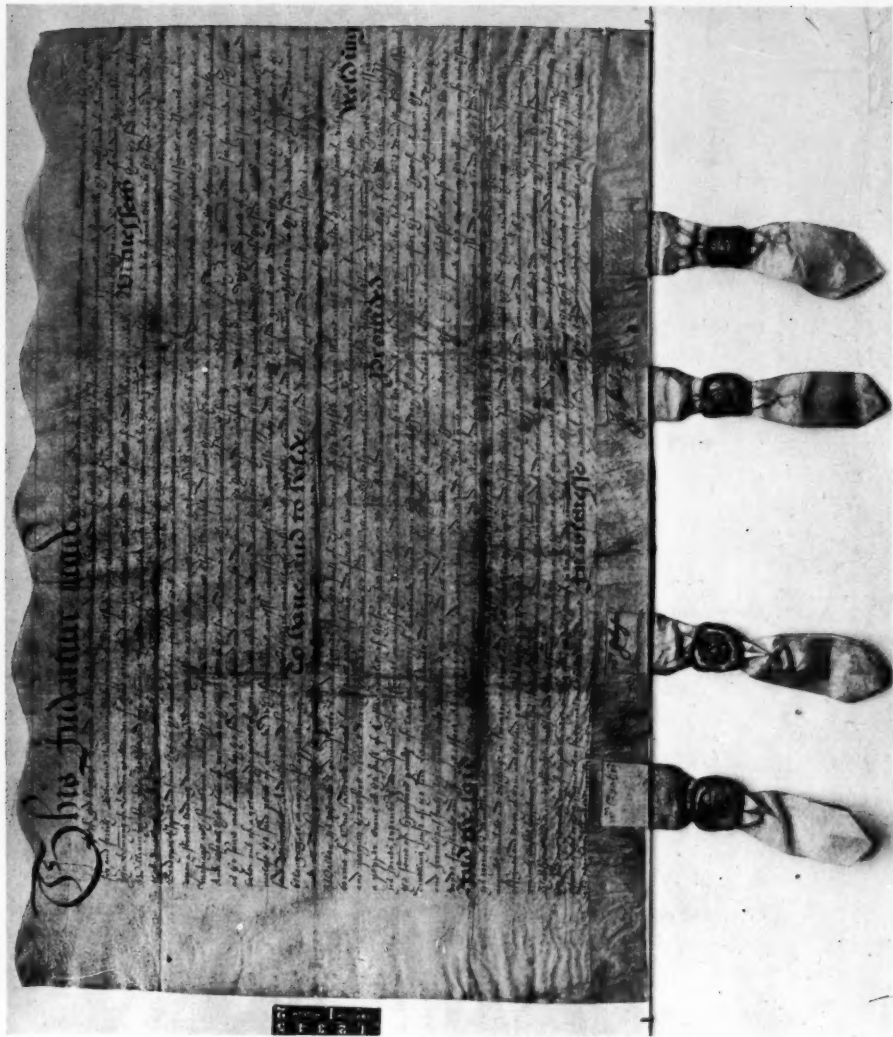


SHANDSPERE QUARTERLY





Indenture of 11 March 1613, drawn in connection with the purchase of the Blackfriars Gate-house property from Henry Walker, and signed by William Shakespeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson. Reproduced, with permission, from the original in the British Museum, Egerton MS. 1787.

SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY

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Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes

JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT

HE character of Polonius is one of many puzzles in the most controversial of all plays. He is a busybody, a "wretched, rash, intruding fool," as lacking in "the soul of wit" as in judgment and discretion. And yet his advice to his son is one of the most admired distillations of practical wisdom in all Shakespeare—probably the most often memorized passage the poet ever wrote.

This speech occurs at the very beginning of Polonius' first important appearance (I.iii.55-80). He is present in scene ii, but speaks only four lines, so that the passage in question opens the scene in which Shakespeare is creating the character as he intends the audience to understand him. The whole interpretation of the part, therefore, turns upon whether, in this speech, Polonius is being tiresome and obvious, or whether he is here exhibiting a shrewd practical good sense which justifies his place as Lord Chamberlain and elder statesman at the court of Denmark.¹ Briefly, the problem is, how much dignity does Shakespeare allow to Polonius?

Standard commentary on the advice to Laertes, since 1871, has called attention to a parallel passage in Lyly's *Euphues*,² and R. W. Bond pointed out an even closer parallel in the precepts given by Euphues to Philautus in *Euphues and his England*.³ The relevant passages are short: Euphues says, "if these few precepts I give thee be observed, then doubt not but we both shall learne that we best lyke" (II, 30-31). Polonius' "few precepts" seem like a deliberate echo, and he follows Lyly in the order of topics, "Be not lavish of thy tongue . . . euery one that shaketh thee by the hand, is not ioynted to thee

¹ Edward Dowden, *Shakspeare: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art*, 4th ed. (1879), pp. 141-142, calls the contents of the speech "copy-book" maxims, and says, "his wisdom is not the outflow of a rich or deep nature, but the little, accumulated hoard of a long and superficial experience." G. L. Kittredge, in the notes to his edition of the play (Boston, 1939), p. 155, defends the advice as "sound and sensible," and comments on his probable service in securing Claudius' election (note on I.ii.47-49). O. J. Campbell, *The Living Shakespeare* (New York, 1949), pp. 746, ascribes his tedium to senility, saying, "To make him merely a shrewd and wise courtier, as some recent critics and actors have done, is to deprive *Hamlet* of its only touch of humor and to miss the irony of Polonius' death. For he is the victim of his own officious meddling in a tragedy he completely fails to understand."

² W. L. Rushton, *Shakespeare's Euphuism* (London, 1871), pp. 44-47. Dowden, op. cit., calls the speech a cento of quotations from *Euphues*.

³ R. W. Bond, ed., *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (Oxford, 1902), I, 165. Quotations from Lyly are from this edition.

in heart. . . . Be not quarrellous for every lyght occasion . . . they never fight without provoking, and once provoked they never cease. . . . It shall be better to heare what they say, then to speak what thou thinkest." In another place Euphues advises Philautus, "be constant to them that trust thee, and trust them that thou hast tried" (II, 149). The second part of Polonius' advice, dealing with dress, thrift, and integrity, comes nearer to a passage which occurs twice in *Euphues*: "Descende into thine owne conscience, and consider wyth thy selfe the great difference betweene staringe and starke blinde, wit and wisdome, love and lust. Bee merrye but with modestie, be sober but not to sul-loume, bee valiant but not too venterous. Let thy attyre bee comely but not costly, thy dyet wholesome but not excessive, use pastime as the woorde importeth, to passe the tyme in honest recreation: mistrust no man without cause, neither bee thou credulous without prooffe, bee not light to followe every mans opinion, nor obstinate to stande in thine owne conceipte. Serve God, love God, feare God, and God wyll so blesse thee as eyther hearte can wishe or thy friends desire" (Bond, I, 189-190, repeated on p. 286).

It should be observed that, while Shakespeare seems to be echoing the sentiments, he does not echo the characteristic balanced and alliterative phrasing. Obviously the implication intended is not that Polonius was an old courtier whose diction was somewhat "dated" by the euphuistic fashion of his youth. Shakespeare made use of euphuism elsewhere as a means of characterization and showed himself to be an able mimic of the style, notably in Falstaff's impersonation of Henry IV. If he had intended to suggest *Euphues* to the minds of his audience by Polonius' speech, he would certainly have used the style as well as the precepts to be found in Lyly.

It seems not to have been noted that the passages I have quoted from Lyly are borrowed from the oration of Isocrates *Ad Demonicum*. Lyly's use of Isocrates, and his debt in matters of style, have long been recognized and elaborately studied, but his debt to Isocrates for moral precepts seems not to have been observed. The *Ad Demonicum* is a letter (one of the minor forms of oratory) addressed by Isocrates to the young son of a friend. It is largely made up of a string of precepts, or maxims, numbered from 1 to 36 in the most popular Latin translation, and covering the same subjects, in much the same order, as in Polonius' speech. H. B. Lathrop, in his study of *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman*,⁴ pointed out that Polonius' speech came ultimately from Isocrates, and he quotes the relevant sentences from the first translation into English of the *Ad Demonicum*. T. W. Baldwin, in his monumental work on the Tudor schools,⁵ repeats the statement and the quotation.

Whether Polonius' precepts were borrowed from *Euphues*, or from the *Ad Demonicum*, they would be recognized by the Elizabethan audience, since both works were often reprinted;⁶ but whether Shakespeare intended the speech

⁴ University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature 35 (Madison, 1933), pp. 45-46.

⁵ *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1944), I, 605.

⁶ Baldwin sufficiently illustrates the vogue of Isocrates, see I, 106, 261, 316-317, 391, 498, 523, and especially 595-605, and see index. The continuing popularity of Lyly's novels is apparent from the record of 5 editions of *Euphues* in the years '78-'81, and 5 between '85 and '97. *Euphues and his England*, after 5 editions in the first two years, was printed 4 times between '86 and 1601.

to remind the audience of the fashionable novels, or of a common schoolbook, makes a very great difference in the implications of characterization. If Polonius was echoing Euphues, the implication would be simply that he was an old, and somewhat out-of-date courtier. But the *Ad Demonicum* was a schoolbook as familiar to an Elizabethan audience as Cato's *Distichs* and Cicero's *Offices*. In fact, if the association is with Isocrates, then Polonius is reciting a string of precepts learned by every schoolboy in the second form. According to Baldwin,⁷ the Tudor schoolboy encountered the *Ad Demonicum* at three different levels of instruction. First a Latin version of it was included in the "Cato" collection used in the first and second forms. It had been established there by Erasmus. Then it was the first of the Orations of Isocrates studied for rhetoric, and finally, for those who undertook Greek in the grammar school, it was used as an elementary text. The most popular version for this more advanced study was one prepared by Jerome Wolf, a friend of Ascham's, with the Greek text and Wolf's Latin translation on facing pages.⁸ It is this text which has the precepts numbered.

It will be recalled that Polonius treats discretion, affability, friendship, quarrels, reticence, dress, thrift, integrity. Isocrates begins with the more important subjects of religion, piety, discipline, modesty, reverence, etc. But number 12 deals with *affabilitas*, followed by *Industria*, *Animi continentia*, *Taciturnitas et arcana commitendi cautio*, *lusiurandum*, *Amicitiae constitutio*, *exploratio et conseruatio*, *Vestitus*, *Diuitiarum usus*,⁹ etc. In the earliest English translation, these advise: "Be gentell and plesaunt to all men: be familiar but only with ye good. Become sloly a frende, but after you haue professed amite endeuour so to continue. . . . Trie your friendes by such aduersities as happeneth in this present lyfe . . . be to your familiars compayghniable, and not haughty. . . . Be neate and clenly in your apparell: but not braue and sumptuous. . . . Do your vter endeauor to lyue in safetie. But if it fortune you to come in perill, so defende yourselfe by batayle and force of armes, that it may redounde to your renoume."¹⁰ As Lathrop observes, in the next scene in which Polonius appears (II.i), his directions to Reynaldo for spying on Laertes smack somewhat of Isocrates' on how to test a friend, "Neyther prove your frendes with your annoyance: nor yet be ignorant of their condicions. And this you may do, if you fayne to haue nede of them when you haue no nede at all: and committe vnto them for great secretes, matters which may without danger be discouered. For albeit contrary to your expectacion they bewraye you, yet shall you not be endamaged thereby. . . ." In another place he advises *Demonicus* how one may "by indirections find directions out" by putting a hypothetical case as a way of getting advice without betraying one's own secret affairs.

It is not the three widely separated passages in *Lyly*, but this solid block of schoolboy precepts which Shakespeare makes Polonius recite.¹¹ There were

⁷ Op. cit., I, 261, 422 ff.

⁸ Wolf's Latin version was first published in 1548, and with the Greek in 1553, '67, '71, '82, '87, '93, '98, 1604, etc.

⁹ I have used the edition of *Isocratis scripta* (Basle, 1587).

¹⁰ Quoted by Lathrop, pp. 45-46, and repeated by Baldwin, I, 605.

¹¹ Warburton suggested that Polonius had got the lines by heart from his reading. Capell thought he detected a difference between the precepts and Polonius' usual style. Knight reported that in Q1 the precepts were printed in inverted commas, "as if they were taken from some known

three English versions of them in print, the one I have quoted, by John Bury published in 1558, one by Thomas Forrest, who translated from Wolf's Latin, in 1580, and one by Robert Nuttall in 1585.¹² It is not probable that Shakespeare assumed in his audience a knowledge of any of these. Rather he would expect them to have by heart the Latin phrases, and to enjoy the aptness of *his* English version as they recognized its source. Polonius begins, "And these few precepts in thy memory/ Look thou character." Wolf's Latin begins, "Ego itaque te breuiter monere conabor, quibus studiis maximas ad virtutem progressionem facturus . . ." (pp. 5,7). Compare "Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried," and "Amicitiam cum nemine iungito, priusquam exploraueris . . ." (p. 11); or "Grapple them to thy soul". . . etc., and "Sensim amicitiam contrahito, contractam perpetuo conservare studeo. Nam subinde mutare familiaritates, aequè turpe est, ac amicum habere neminem." Or compare these: "Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,/ But not express'd in fancy; rich, not gaudy," and "In vestitu fac ornatum probes, luxum repudies. Habet autem ornatus magnificentiam, luxus redundantiam" (p. 13).

It is the quality of utter familiarity which constitutes the dramatic significance of Polonius' advice to Laertes. However few and brief the precepts, Laertes knew them by heart (or so it would seem to the audience), and would be expected to squirm under his father's tedious brief discourse. Polonius is, in his first scene as in his last "a foolish pratling knave," a "rash, intruding fool," whose standard, "practical" injunctions to Ophelia, in this same scene, do the greatest possible mischief and "protect" her to her utter destruction.

This is not, of course, to disparage the soundness of the advice to Laertes. It is, as Professor Kittredge says, "sound and sensible—not more 'worldly wise' than the occasion warrants." That is not the point of the speech, however. The point is that Shakespeare's audience could be trusted to recognize it as a familiar and conventional set of wise saws—not a wise old man's sage advice to his son, but schoolboy wisdom in the mouth of one who, to borrow a phrase from *Lear*, "hath ever but slenderly known himself," and is now entering his second childhood. The contrast between the wisdom of the speech and its inappropriateness on this occasion produces irony similar to that of Iago's speech on good name (*Othello* III.iii.155-161).

Several other parallels have been suggested as possible sources or analogues of Polonius' precepts,¹³ but the only one which needs any consideration here is the letter, printed in 1617 as Lord Burleigh's advice to his son Robert, with the title, *Certaine precepts or directions for the well ordering of a man's life*. This letter has been used, not only as a possible source for Shakespeare's lines,

source; or, at any rate, as if Polonius had delivered them by an effort of memory alone." Dyce pointed out that gnomic portions of various early plays were distinguished in this way; *Hamlet*, Furness Variorum edition, I, 65-66.

¹² Reported by Lathrop, p. 206, and Baldwin, I, 603. Neither cites his authority, and the translation is not listed in the *STC*.

¹³ Hunter suggested a parallel in Burleigh's maxims, and in Sir Henry Sidney's letter to his son Philip [in *Letters and Memorials of State*, etc., ed. A. Collins (London, 1746), I, 8-9]. There may be an echo of Isocrates in the advice about talking, but it is such a faint and distant echo as to be quite uncertain. Kittredge, in his edition of the play, collects three passages of advice from Greene, one from Massinger, one from Florio, and one from Hesiod, apparently to show that the giving of advice was common. He also cites the countess' farewell to her son in *All's Well* I.i.70-79.

but as the basis of an argument that Polonius was intended as a caricature of Lord Burleigh. Since this idea has not received the full refutation it deserves, and since it has affected, and still affects, the interpretation of the character of Polonius, it will be necessary to consider it briefly.

The argument is fully developed by G. W. Phillips, *Lord Burghley and Shakespeare* (London, 1936), Chapter IV. Dover Wilson, in *The Essential Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 104, agrees that "Polonius is almost without doubt intended as a caricature of Burleigh." O. J. Campbell, in *The Living Shakespeare* (New York, 1949), p. 746, suggests more cautiously that the change of name from "Corambis . . . meaning 'tedious iteration'" to Polonius, "The Pole," "may have been an act of prudence. It is possible that suspicious officials imagined the boring old counselor to be the poet's satire upon Burleigh."

I should like to suggest that the change of name for the old counselor was in keeping with Shakespeare's refusal to follow a fashion of the day (affected by Ben Jonson) of pinning labels on his characters in the fashion of an allegory. However that may be, I shall give four reasons for thinking that Polonius would not have suggested Lord Burleigh to an Elizabethan. (1) Lord Burleigh was Lord Treasurer (1572-98), not Lord Chamberlain, which was Polonius' office. One was a position in the national government, the other an office of the royal household, in charge of protocol, court entertainment, etc. Polonius' activities in entertaining the players, arranging for the presentation of the play, announcing and bringing in the ambassadors (II.ii.40 ff.), etc., accurately reflect the duties of his office.¹⁴ The idea that Shakespeare, or anyone who knew the ways of the Elizabethan court, would confuse the two offices is absurd. It would be like confusing the chief secretary of the White House with the Secretary of the Treasury.

Elizabeth's Lord Chamberlain, at the time *Hamlet* was written, was George Carey, second Lord Hunsdon (1547-1603), who was only fifty years old when he succeeded his father, Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon (1524?-96). It was under the first Lord Hunsdon that the Lord Chamberlain's company, in which Shakespeare acted, was formed. But there is no reason to suppose that Polonius was intended as a caricature of *him*. He had lived to be over seventy, but he was certainly dead before Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was written, and he left a son to rebuke any slight to his memory.

For the same reason, it is highly improbable that Shakespeare, in 1599-1601, would caricature Lord Burleigh. (2) He died in 1598 leaving his son, Robert Cecil, who was then Secretary of State, to protect his memory. What petty spite, bad taste, and futile risk of serious consequences we must attribute to the poet to suggest that he would put on the stage a caricature of Burleigh two years or more after his death!

The notion that Polonius was intended as a take-off on Burleigh had its origin in a suggestion that advice similar to that of Polonius occurs in a letter, published in 1617 as Lord Burleigh's advice to his son. The letter was not published in Shakespeare's life-time. There is no reason to suppose that he ever saw it, but if he did, he could not use it to caricature Burleigh, since the audience could not have been familiar with it and would not have recognized the parody. It has been suggested that the letter reflected Burleigh's habit of speech. The

¹⁴ See E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, I, 36-41, and consult the index.

matter could be tested. A good deal of his writing has been preserved in his letters and papers, but no effort has been made to parallel the speech with any of this material—only with the *Certain precepts* which, (3) if not spurious is at least suspect! Yet Phillips says, "Shakespeare placed in the mouth of Polonius the very language which Cecil actually used."¹⁵ Once we know that Polonius' speech is a set of schoolboy commonplaces, a resemblance between it and the language of the Letter would not indicate more than a common source.

(4) But actually the two do not cover the same ground, and any similarity of style is common to all Elizabethan gnomic literature. The Letter¹⁶ is not concerned with the same subjects as Polonius' advice. It is much more worldly, and covers the choice of a wife, the raising of children, management of servants, dispensing of hospitality, etc. There are ten precepts, of which the fifth comes nearest to Polonius, but it is advice against becoming surety for another's debt, not against borrowing and lending. It reads, "Beware of suretyship for thy best friends. He that payeth another man's debts, seeketh his own decay. But, if thou canst not chuse, rather lend thy money thyself . . . although thou borrow it. . . . Neither borrow money of a neighbor or a friend, but of a stranger; where paying for it, thou shalt hear no more of it. . . ." He goes on to advise against lawsuits, "Be sure to keep some great man thy friend," making him suitable gifts; suggesting how to behave to superiors, equals, and inferiors; "Trust not any man with thy life, credit, or estate"; and avoid scurrility and jests at other people's expense.

The wisdom of the letter suggests some of Bacon's *Essays*, rather than the mixture of idealism and practicality characteristic of Isocrates. Moreover, it treats a different set of subjects almost entirely. It would seem, therefore, that we could forget the whole notion of a connection between Polonius and Lord Burleigh (which certainly does nothing toward the interpretation of the character of Polonius), if it were not that identifications of this kind, once suggested, continue to hang in the air, like Mohammed's coffin, long after every visible means of support has been removed.

Shakespeare does not dignify Polonius in any way.¹⁷ After his disastrous prohibitions to Ophelia, we see him next sending a servant to spy on Laertes. This is a scene intended as further characterization of Polonius, since it has no function in the plot, except to indicate a lapse of time. Next he comes to the false conclusion that Hamlet is mad for love of his daughter. This the king is too shrewd to accept, and Gertrude only hopes that it is true. His garrulity comes out strongly in the reading of Hamlet's love-letter, his vanity in the scene with the players, his lack of either dignity or integrity in his willingness to hide behind an arras, not once but twice, to spy on an intimate tête-à-tête. He is no elder statesman, but the butt of any wit. "Follow that lord—and look you mock him not," Hamlet admonishes the players. Even in death Shakespeare allows

¹⁵ P. 125.

¹⁶ Reprinted in Francis Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, New Edition (London, 1779), I, 47-49.

¹⁷ Kittredge remarks that Polonius' speech "concludes with a precept which raises the whole speech to a high ethical standard." But that depends on whether we interpret "to thine own self be true" as "be truthful, honest," or whether it means "look after your own interests first." Possibly Shakespeare intended the ambiguity. G. Norlin, in the Loeb Classics edition of *Isocrates* (1928), p. 3, describes the "To Demonius" as a mixture of "shrewd advice for getting on in this workaday world" with "an occasional note of exalted idealism."

him no dignity. He is stabbed like a rat and lugged off the stage without ceremony. He is more important, and more troublesome, dead than alive. Nor does it follow that, because his children loved him, therefore he must have been worthy of their devotion.

Shakespeare was concerned, not to justify Polonius' appointment to high office (at some time before the play begins), nor to excuse his children's natural and dutiful affection, but to minimize, as far as possible, Hamlet's crime in killing him. Toward that end he makes the old man a tiresome busybody, sure of his own cleverness ("I perceiv'd it, I must tell you that,/ Before my daughter told me"; or "Hath there been such a time . . ./ That I have positively said 'Tis so,/ When it prov'd otherwise?"), but he entirely lacks the ripe wisdom and understanding of human nature which mark the older statesman, and make him worthy of respect.

Shakespeare did not begin his portrait of Polonius by giving him a speech full of wisdom distilled from his own observation, nor even a set of copybook maxims which he himself had collected; he gave him a set of precepts two thousand years old and familiar to every schoolboy. Polonius interrupts Laertes and Ophelia in a scene of leave-taking full of genuine understanding, affection, and concern for each other's welfare. Laertes' very sensible advice to Ophelia is intended as sharp contrast to point up Polonius' random generalities. He comes in as he goes off, a wretched, rash, intruding fool, mistaken for his better.

Hunter College

The Corrupting Influence of the Bad Quarto on the Received Text of *Romeo and Juliet*

RICHARD HOSLEY



HE bad first quarto of 1597 may fairly be said to pose the chief editorial problem in *Romeo and Juliet*. The now generally discarded theory that Q₁ was an early draft of the good second quarto of 1599 permitted Pope and subsequent editors to establish an eclectic tradition which was not seriously challenged until Professor H. R. Hoppe's edition of 1947.¹ If this important edition has finally rid us of unnecessary eclecticism, the editor's work is nevertheless still complicated by the fact that Q₁ served as copy for Q₂ to an extent which we can never fully know. In a recent article (1951) Professor G. I. Duthie discusses this situation, formulates a theory of the copy for Q₂, and contributes excellent notes on editorial policy in the use of Q₁ variants.² I believe, however, that Mr. Duthie's theory of the copy for Q₂ is based on some questionable assumptions, and I should like to modify and develop his proposed editorial policy.³ As I hope to make clear, the editor of *Romeo and Juliet* should occasionally reject the authority of Q₁ where Q₂ is corrupt, both in individual textual readings and in textual arrangements such as the location of stage directions, prose or verse lineation, and the assignment of speeches. In fact, editorial reliance on Q₁ is the source of a number of errors in the received text of *Romeo and Juliet*.

I

Q₂ and Q₁ are both substantive editions. Q₂ appears to have been printed mainly from Shakespeare's foul papers⁴ and undoubtedly, as Mr. Hoppe puts it in his edition, "reflects a draft of the play shortly before the theatrical scribe made a fair copy for use as a prompt book" (p. vi). This is indicated by irregularity and confusion in character designation⁵ and especially by a number

¹ *The Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet* (Crofts Classics, New York, 1947).

² "The Text of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*," *Studies in Bibliography*, IV (1951-1952), 3-29. Mr. Duthie is preparing an edition of *Romeo and Juliet* for the New Cambridge Shakespeare.

³ I am preparing an edition of *Romeo and Juliet* for the Yale Shakespeare. References in this paper are to the line-numbering of the Globe edition.

⁴ E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, I, 341; W. W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare*, p. 61.

⁵ Capulet's Wife, for example, is designated by five additional titles: Wife, Mother, Lady, Lady of the House, and Old Lady; and Peter and Balthasar are respectively designated Will Kemp and Peter (IV.v.101 s.d. and V.iii.21 s.d.).

of duplicate versions of individual words, phrases, and passages, in each case one version being presumably the author's revision of the other, which had not been clearly deleted from the manuscript and which was thus reproduced along with its revision by an uncritical compositor. I shall subsequently discuss this phenomenon of "revisional duplication" in some detail.

By an analysis of the most significant of the innumerable variations between Q1 and Q2 Mr. Hoppe has amply documented the now generally accepted theory that Q1 is a memorial reconstruction of a stage adaptation of the text represented by Q2.⁶ I base the present essay on Mr. Hoppe's theory, and will subsequently discuss in detail a particular kind of memorial corruption, the Q1 reporter's erroneous assignment of speeches.⁷

In addition to Shakespeare's manuscript, it is now generally recognized, on the evidence of bibliographical links between the two editions, that an exemplar of Q1 also served as copy for Q2. The theory was apparently first suggested in 1879 by Robert Gericke, who concluded that the Q2 compositor set up the 93-line passage from I.ii.46 to I.iii.36 directly from Q1, either because a page was missing from Shakespeare's manuscript or because the latter was at this point illegible. In 1919 Professor J. Dover Wilson and the late A. W. Pollard advanced a different theory, namely that the links in various other passages (such as II.iv.40-46 and III.v.27-32) were due to a common manuscript source. In 1926, however, Professor Greta Hjort refuted the common-manuscript theory and in its place developed Gericke's theory by suggesting that Q2 was printed from a first quarto which "must have been collated with an authentic manuscript and corrections and additions written in the margin, between the lines, or inserted on loose slips of paper." In 1928 Sir Walter Greg in turn indicated the error of Miss Hjort's apparent assumption that Q2 was printed in entirety from Q1 by pointing out that the passages where Q1 served as copy for Q2 are limited to the first two sheets of Q1. Sir Walter then suggested the theory that the copy for Q2 consisted of (1) an exemplar of Q1 corrected as far as the end of sheet B by an editor who referred to a playhouse manuscript, and thereafter (2) a transcript of that manuscript by the editor, who nevertheless occasionally consulted Q1 where the manuscript was obscure. In 1937, however, the late R. B. McKerrow, in connection with the bibliographical links between the good and bad texts of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, independently arrived at Gericke's theory that the links were caused by the compositor's use of Q1 in setting up Q2.⁸ Finally,

⁶ *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (Cornell University Press, 1948). See also Chambers, I, 341-345; Greg, pp. 62-64; and Alfred Hart, *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies* (Melbourne University Press, 1942). I follow Mr. Hoppe in speaking of a single reporter, although there were probably at least two. The reader can best study variations between Q1 and Q2 in one of the parallel-text editions: *Romeo and Juliet. Parallel Texts of the First Two Quartos*, ed. P. A. Daniel (London, 1874), or *Shakespeare's Romeo und Julia*, ed. Tycho Mommsen (Oldenburg, 1859).

⁷ Here I must briefly emphasize the later argument of this paper that the editor of *Romeo and Juliet* should not turn to Q1 until he has exhausted the possibilities of emending a given Q2 error within its own textual and bibliographical contexts. Accordingly, my demonstration of errors in the received text is based on a bibliographical examination of Q2, does not depend on the memorial-reconstruction theory of the origin of Q1, and could be made equally well on the assumption that Q1 is an early draft or a shorthand report.

⁸ Gericke, "Romeo and Juliet nach Shakespeare's Manuscript," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XVI (1879), 270-272; Pollard and Dover Wilson, "The 'Stolne and Surreptitious' Shakespearian Texts. *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597," *TLS*, August 14, 1919, p. 434; Hjort, "The Good and Bad Quartos of

by 1942 Sir Walter Greg had apparently given up the assumption of a transcript,⁹ and in 1949 his theory was further modified by Professor Sidney Thomas, who pointed out that it would be impossible to correct certain leaves of Q1 sheets A and B so as to yield the text of Q2 because of insufficient space on the Q1 pages, and that additional matter could not have been written on inserted slips because the new lines do not come in single blocks but are scattered throughout the text.¹⁰ Mr. Thomas then argued that the unquestionable bibliographical links between the two quartos are limited to the 93-line passage originally noted by Gericke on leaves B3 and B4, observed that within this passage there are only a few inconsequential variants which could easily be compositor's errors, and concluded that this passage in Q2 was printed from an uncorrected copy of Q1.¹¹

Mr. Duthie (1951) bases his own tentatively proposed hypothesis on Sir Walter's original theory, as modified by Mr. Thomas:

A person who may be called the Q2 editor, or Scribe E, was entrusted officially with the task of preparing copy for Q2. He was equipped with an authentic manuscript, and also with a copy of Q1. At I i 1 he began transcribing the authentic manuscript. But he continually looked at Q1, comparing it with the authentic manuscript. When he came to I ii 57 [numbering of the old Cambridge edition] he read ahead in Q1, comparing it with the manuscript, and he found that for some time thereafter—up to I iii 36, in fact—Q1 was of good quality. He saw that after that point Q1 deteriorated sharply. And so, having up to I ii 56 been copying the authentic manuscript, he now tore out of his Q1 the two leaves, B3 and B4, which contained the patch of text he had found to be satisfactory. He drew his pen through the text on B3^r up to and including I ii 56, and he drew his pen through the text on B4^v after I iii 36. Then he simply put the two printed leaves, so dealt with, in the pile of leaves, hitherto manuscript, which he was producing to form the copy for Q2 [pp. 7-8].

Romeo and Juliet and *Love's Labour's Lost*," *MLR*, XXI (1926), 141-142; Greg, *Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare* (London, 1928), pp. 19-20, 49, 50; McKerrow, "A Note on the 'Bad Quartos' of 2 and 3 Henry VI and the Folio Text," *RES*, XIII (1937), 69-70. See also Chambers, I, 344, and Greg, *Editorial Problem*, p. 62. The most notable link is the common use of italic type for the Nurse's speeches in I.iii.

⁹ To judge from Sir Walter's later endorsement of the view that the manuscript copy for Q2 consisted of Shakespeare's foul papers (*Editorial Problem*, p. 61) and from his writing that "it is uncertain whether a rather ill-defined section of the 'good' Q2 was in fact printed from the 'bad' Q1 owing to a defect in the manuscript generally followed, or whether the printer began by using a copy of Q1 that had been corrected by comparison with the manuscript" (p. xvi, note 1).

¹⁰ "The Bibliographical Links Between the First Two Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*," *RES*, XXV (1949), p. 113.

¹¹ Thomas, pp. 113-114. I follow Mr. Duthie (pp. 4-6) in defining the section of Q2 printed from Q1 to the exclusion of manuscript copy as the 85-line passage extending from I.ii.54 to I.iii.36. (Mr. Duthie gives it as beginning at I.ii.58—Cambridge numbering, 57—but there are no variants between ll. 54 and 58.) Thus defined, the passage contains only four variants which might easily be the Q2 compositor's corrections or errors of transmission: Q1 *Rosaline* and *Liulia* Q2 *Rosaline*, *Liulia* (I.ii.72); Q1 *thee* Q2 *you* (l. 81); Q1 *a* Q2 *an* (I.iii.11); Q1 *with Dugge* Q2 *with the Dugge* (l. 32). Gericke and Thomas define it as the 93-line passage beginning at I.ii.46, but in the eight lines between 46 and 54 there are four additional variants, some of which might well have been derived from manuscript copy: Q1 *wish* Q2 *hy* (I.ii.47); Q1 *backward . . . wish* Q2 *giddie . . . by* (l. 48); Q1 *For what?* Q2 *For what I pray thee?* (l. 53).

Mr. Duthie then proceeds to apply his theory of "composite copy"¹² to the two short passages (II.iv.40-46 and III.v.27-32) noted by Pollard and Mr. Dover Wilson as being obviously dependent on Q1:

Now, having decided that in these two short passages Q2 is dependent on an edited copy of Q1 ["edited," because of textual variants], we naturally look carefully at the two leaves of Q1 involved—E1 and G3. We look at each in its entirety. And I should claim that it is possible, in pen and ink, to correct these two Q1 leaves in their entirety so as to give the Q2 text. I think it reasonable, then, to suggest, and I do suggest, that part of the copy for Q2 consisted of leaves E1 and G3 of Q1, corrected by hand in accordance with an authoritative manuscript, and then torn out of the particular first quarto used, and placed in the bundle of papers that formed the copy for Q2 [p. 13].

Mr. Duthie finally suggests that Q1 leaves A3 (containing the prologue) and D1 may have been corrected in similar fashion and also incorporated in the copy for Q2 (pp. 14-15).

Mr. Duthie's hypothesis ably accounts for those sections of Q2 which amalgamate features of both Q1 and the manuscript copy, but it seems to be based on three questionable assumptions. The first of these is that the manuscript copy for Q2 was a transcript of Shakespeare's manuscript. The error of this assumption is suggested by the positive evidence in Q2 indicating author's foul papers as copy and by the improbabilities (1) that an editor would fail to correct or normalize some of the many errors and irregularities with which the text of Q2 is flawed; (2) that he would reproduce revisional duplications as faithfully as did the Q2 compositor; and (3) that he would go to the trouble of transcribing an author's manuscript which, because of its many inconsistencies and omissions, would have been relatively worthless to the prompter and yet would still have served well enough as copy. The assumption of a transcript originated with Sir Walter Greg, who seems to have been led to it in order to support his theory that an editor methodically prepared copy composed of a corrected first quarto in combination with a manuscript. In any case, Sir Walter later apparently abandoned this theory (see note 9 above).

Mr. Duthie's second questionable assumption is that the copy for Q2 was a composite affair made up of printed leaves torn from a first quarto and manuscript leaves transcribed from Shakespeare's manuscript. This assumption is, of course, incorrect as it stands, since it is based on the assumption of a transcript. However, the possibility must be considered of adjusting the argument to the fact that the manuscript copy was Shakespeare's autograph. The theory would then involve the editor's selecting pages from his manuscript as well as from his first quarto, deleting overlapping sections of text in both kinds of copy, and combining the printed and manuscript leaves as Mr. Duthie has suggested. However, one objection to such a theory is that the assumption of composite copy involves the corollary that each kind of copy was exclusive of the other (except for short overlapping sections of text, presumably deleted); and this would ignore the fact that Q1 appears to have influenced Q2 in places where it

¹² I use this expression to designate copy composed of a combination of printed and manuscript leaves.

would be impossible to correct Q1 so as to yield the text of Q2.¹³ Thus the assumption of composite copy would have to include the unwieldy additional assumption that the rejected Q1 leaves were also furnished the compositor in a separate pile which he occasionally consulted. Another objection is that it seems improbable that an editor would (simply for the compositor's convenience in setting up parts of Q2 from printed copy) make such a combination of two kinds of copy when the author's manuscript alone would serve his purpose equally well. Presumably the reason for an editor's use of Q1 was to avoid the burden of transcribing certain sections of text. But since the editor apparently used author's manuscript and transcribed nothing, the procedure of constructing composite copy would, instead of saving him trouble, have cost him a great deal.

Mr. Duthie's third questionable assumption is that there was, in fact, an editor of Q2. The assumption originated with Miss Hjort, being necessary to her theory that Q2 was printed from a corrected copy of Q1. Yet, as Mr. Thomas has shown, an extensive passage in Q2 (Lii.54 to Liii.36) was printed from an apparently *uncorrected* copy of Q1 (see note 11 above); and it seems probable that in 85 lines the reporter's memory (elsewhere in the same scene regularly fallible) would have produced more than four trivial variants from the authentic text and that if there had been an editor he would have corrected them. Again, the assumption of an editor was necessary to Sir Walter Greg's theory that the manuscript copy for Q2 was a transcript of a playhouse manuscript. Yet the manuscript copy for Q2 was author's manuscript, obviously *uncorrected* for the printer—to judge from Q2's many irregularities, corruptions, and revisional duplications. Thus in both kinds of copy for Q2 evidence of correction by an editor is lacking in precisely those places where we should most expect it. I suggest that there was no such editor. The only evidence of his alleged existence occurs in those passages scattered throughout Q2 (such as II.iv.40-46 and III.v.27-32) which imitate bibliographical or textual peculiarities of Q1 and which also obviously depend for their variants on the manuscript copy. However, it is improbable that these amalgamations of both kinds of copy are the work of an editor, since corrections of Q1 would have been lost labor: no matter how much an editor might have corrected his first quarto by reference to Shakespeare's manuscript, he would ultimately have been forced to turn that manuscript over to the printer as copy for Q2. Moreover, certain of the amalgamations could not be the work of an editor, since they occur in places where Q1 could not have been corrected so as to yield the text of Q2. Thus we must seek a more probable explanation of these and other bibliographical links.

Any theory of the copy for Q2 must be based on two assumptions which can be substantially regarded as facts. The first is that Shakespeare's foul papers were the principal copy, and the second is that an exemplar of Q1 served as auxiliary copy for the printing of certain passages in Q2. I suggest the theory

¹³ A case in point is provided by the first two lines of III.i which, although they are part of a prose speech beginning a scene which is prose for the first 39 lines, imitate the verse arrangement of Q1 (see below, p. 23). Yet so much new text is added in Q2 both immediately before and after these two lines that Q1 sig. E4^r could not possibly have been corrected so as to yield the text of Q2. For other examples see Thomas, pp. 112-113.

that the Q2 compositor was furnished with Shakespeare's manuscript and a copy of Q1. (The first quarto might have been supplied by the publisher because the manuscript was defective or by the printer because a printed text would occasionally provide more convenient copy.) In setting up Q2 the compositor generally followed his manuscript copy but in some passages (such as that from I.ii.54 to I.iii.36) followed the text of Q1, which he reproduced substantially unaltered. (He may have done this because the manuscript was defective or because he found the printed copy easier to compose from.) In other passages scattered throughout Q2 (such as II.iv.40-46 and III.v.27-32) the compositor, in following his manuscript copy, from time to time consulted his first quarto (exactly as he did in the case of passages which he reproduced substantially unaltered) and amalgamated certain peculiarities of its spelling, capitalization, word division, punctuation, typography, lineation, and even textual readings with the text which he was reproducing from his manuscript copy. (He may have done this because the manuscript was occasionally difficult to decipher or because he found the printed copy easier to compose from.) The result of such a procedure would be that some Q2 passages agree textually and bibliographically with their corresponding Q1 passages, whereas other Q2 passages vary textually from their corresponding Q1 passages but agree with certain of their bibliographical peculiarities. This is, of course, only Gericke's original theory, modified to account for the scattered amalgamations of both kinds of copy. Substantially the same theory was also held by McKerrow (*loc. cit.*) and has recently been advocated by Mr. Thomas (p. 114).

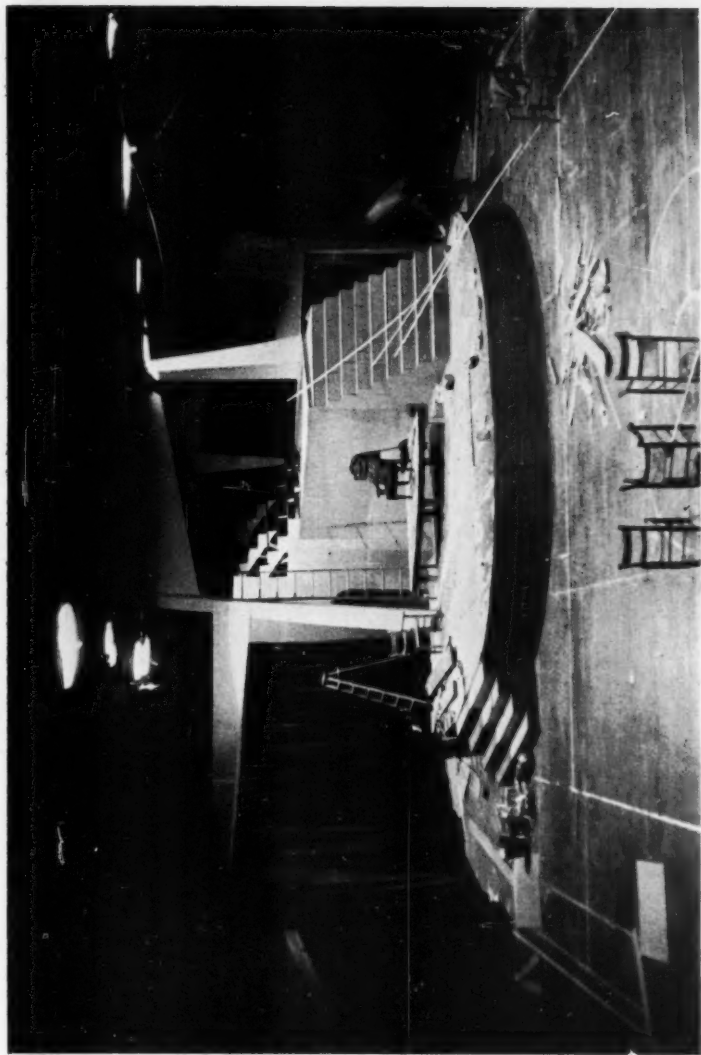
II

Since Shakespeare's autograph manuscript was the principal copy for Q2, the editor of *Romeo and Juliet* should recognize Q2 as the most "authoritative" of the early editions and, having chosen it as his copy-text, should "reprint this exactly save for demonstrable errors."¹⁴ Moreover, since many of Q2's errors can be conveniently corrected by reference to Q1, it is obvious that the editor cannot avoid an eclectic text. However, he should limit his eclecticism as rigorously as possible. For Q1, although it was published two years earlier than Q2 and is entirely substantive in the bibliographical sense that it was printed from no edition now extant,¹⁵ is "derivative" in the textual sense that, being a memorial reconstruction of a stage adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*, it derives ultimately from Shakespeare's original version, represented by Q2. That is, as Mr. Hoppe has shown, Q1 represents the text of *Romeo and Juliet* at a later rather than an earlier stage of development than Q2 (*The Bad Quarto*, pp. 95-107). Furthermore, in Q1 the text of *Romeo and Juliet* shows considerable deterioration. Therefore, although Q1 has unquestionably greater authority than a bibliographically derivative edition like F1 and may frequently preserve authentic readings which are corrupt in Q2, the editor should continually be guided by the presumption that a given Q2 reading is authentic and by the suspicion that a given Q1 reading may be a memorial error.¹⁶

¹⁴ Greg, *Editorial Problem*, p. xxvi. Sir Walter's rule applies to a critical edition but is equally applicable to a modern-spelling edition if "exactly" be interpreted in the sense of "with modernized spelling and punctuation and normalized accessories but without substantial variation."

¹⁵ See R. B. McKerrow, *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare*, p. 8.

¹⁶ The editor's scepticism toward Q1 would be substantially the same if he should assume Q1



The 4-level stage used by the King William Players in their production of *King John* at St. John's College (see *SQ* III, 76).



Hamlet at the Dallas Theatre, an arena stage, 1952.

Again, since Q₁ served as auxiliary copy for Q₂, the editor of *Romeo and Juliet* should also suspect the possibility that the Q₂ compositor may have reproduced an erroneous variant from Q₁ rather than the authentic reading of his manuscript copy. Mr. Duthie and I have divergent theories of the process by which Q₁ influenced Q₂, but both our theories attempt to explain the same set of three bibliographically different textual situations: (1) the 85-line Q₂ passage (I.ii.54 to I.iii.36) containing only four trifling variants from Q₁; (2) passages scattered throughout Q₂ (such as II.iv.40-46 and III.v.27-32) which reproduce bibliographical peculiarities of Q₁ but which derive variants from manuscript copy; and (3) Q₂ passages (the greater part of the text) which are obviously based on manuscript copy and which do not reveal the influence of Q₁. As will be seen, my proposed editorial policy toward the use of Q₁ is developed directly from Mr. Duthie's conclusions.¹⁷

In the first textual situation, the 85-line Q₂ passage (I.ii.54 to I.iii.36) containing only four variants from Q₁, I agree with Mr. Duthie (p. 22) that the Q₂ passage was printed directly from the uncorrected Q₁ text and therefore that Q₂ is here a derivative text and Q₁ the only substantive text.¹⁸ The editor may certainly suspect that the manuscript copy did not agree with Q₁ as closely as does Q₂, but he will, of course, be powerless to say what the authentic variants might have been. In this section of the text we are therefore dependent on the memory of the Q₁ reporter and the text is probably corrupt in ways we will never know. I also agree with Mr. Duthie's argument that the editor should accept Q₁'s variants *thee* (for Q₂'s *you*—I.ii.81) and *and* (omitted from Q₂—I.ii.72) as substantive readings corrupted in the derivative Q₂ passage by the compositor's failures of transmission.¹⁹ But, as Mr. Duthie is well aware, the principle is of strictly limited significance. Only where Q₁ served as copy for Q₂ to the exclusion of manuscript copy can the editor assume Q₂ variants to be errors of transmission between Q₁ and Q₂. Yet only in a long passage where there are few and trivial variants can he say with any certainty that Q₁ served as copy alone: this passage is the only one long enough to qualify,²⁰ and the assumption permits the editor to introduce to the text only two unimportant

to be a shorthand report, since the means of transmission would obviously have corrupted the text of Q₁ in such wholesale manner as to have made it unreliable, or if he should assume Q₁ to be an early draft of Q₂, since it would be impossible to ascertain that the "early draft" was Shakespeare's and not some other playwright's.

¹⁷ The reason for my close agreement with Mr. Duthie is that the different theories of the Q₂ copy lead in editorial practice to the same conclusions. If we assume as I do that the Q₂ compositor amalgamated his two kinds of copy, the compositor may have substituted the corrupt Q₁ variant for an authentic manuscript reading. Or if we assume with Mr. Duthie that an editor prepared copy by correcting parts of a first quarto by reference to an authentic manuscript, the editor may have neglected to correct a corrupt Q₁ variant by substituting for it the authentic manuscript reading. Thus in either case where a Q₂ reading agrees with Q₁ it is possible that the Q₂ reading may be derived from Q₁ and that the Q₁ reading may be in turn corrupt. Again, no matter which theory we adopt, a Q₂ variant could not have been derived from Q₁ and therefore is likely to have been derived from the manuscript copy.

¹⁸ This situation makes Q₂ what Sir Walter Greg calls a "mixed" text (*Editorial Problem*, pp. xiv-xvii; see also p. xxxvi, note 2).

¹⁹ Duthie, p. 23. The editor may accept Q₂'s other two variants (*an* for Q₁'s *a*, and Q₂'s *the*, omitted from Q₁—I.iii.11 and 32) as necessary corrections of errors in the substantive Q₁ text.

²⁰ There are a few passages (like II.iii.78-84) which, although they contain variants in typography and spelling, agree textually for as much as six or eight lines.

readings from Q1. Obviously, if the Q2 passage contained more variants or less trivial ones (as is true of every other section of Q2 betraying the influence of Q1), the editor would immediately infer the influence of the manuscript copy, the substantive or "mixed" character of the Q2 passage, and the authenticity of the Q2 variants.

So far as editorial policy is concerned, the second and third textual situations are in effect only one situation. In the case of Q2 passages which amalgamate features of both Q1 and the manuscript copy, Mr. Duthie correctly points out that there is "a greater presumption of genuineness in a good text reading where it differs from the bad text reading than where it agrees with it" (p. 23). On the other hand, in the case of Q2 passages which are based on manuscript copy and appear to be independent of Q1, Mr. Duthie argues that "agreement between the two quartos is now a presumptive guarantee of authenticity." But in reality "the position is not so good as that. For there is always that troublesome factor of possible occasional consultation of Q1 by Scribe E or the Q2 compositor" (p. 27). Exactly: and the editor should, I suggest, assume the possibility of such consultation in *every* case of agreement between the two quartos, regardless of whether the influence of Q1 is otherwise apparent or not, since the long passages apparently independent of Q1 are in essence no different from the apparently independent sections of shorter passages betraying dependence on Q1. Therefore the principles involved in cases of agreement and variance between Q1 and Q2 can be formulated at once for all parts of the text except that section apparently dependent on Q1 to the exclusion of manuscript copy. There are four possible situations: a *good* Q2 reading with Q1 (1) agreeing or (2) varying and a *corrupt* Q2 reading with Q1 (3) agreeing or (4) varying.

The first situation is a *good* Q2 reading with Q1 *agreeing*. This is well illustrated by the much controverted "*Abraham: Cupid*" (II.i.13), which appears exactly alike in both Q1 and Q2. At first glance agreement of the two quartos suggests that the Q2 reading is correct, was in fact spoken in performance, and was correctly remembered by the Q1 reporter. But the precise agreement of text, spelling, punctuation, and type further suggests that the Q2 compositor may here have followed the printed *Abraham* of Q1 rather than what might have been difficult to read in his manuscript copy (which because of Q2 variants in this passage we know was also being used); and *Abraham*, like every other reading of Q1, being the product of the reporter's memory, is to be suspected of possible corruption. Therefore Steevens' famous emendation of *Abraham* to *Adam* (1773) may indeed be what Shakespeare intended, what stood in the manuscript copy for Q2, what was spoken on stage—and what was corrupted in the reporter's memory to *Abraham*, printed in Q1, and reproduced in the good quarto by its compositor. All this *may* be true, but it is impossible to say that it *is* true, since *Abraham* makes sense in its context in Q2²¹ and there is no bibliographical means of proving that it was not the authentic manuscript reading. Therefore we may conclude that, while *Adam* might be correct, the editor should not prefer it to *Abraham* because the latter is a good reading—that is, not demonstrably in error. Here the editor is forced into an agnostic

²¹ I interpret *Abraham* as alluding to "Abraham Men," and should gloss it as "beggarily, hypocritical."

position, the general significance of which can be summarized as follows: agreement of Q₁ with a good Q₂ reading can be taken as verifying the Q₂ reading, and the editor should accept such a reading despite the possibilities (which cannot be demonstrated) that the Q₂ reading may have been derived from Q₁ and that Q₁ in turn may be memorially or otherwise corrupt. As Mr. Duthie says (p. 26), it is "not possible to produce a text which we can guarantee to be free from corruption."

The second situation is a *good* Q₂ reading with Q₁ *varying*. This should require little comment in view of the now generally accepted desideratum of a non-eclectic text: since the editor's object is presumably not to improve Shakespeare but to ascertain what Shakespeare wrote, we may conclude immediately that the editor should never (as all editors have done between Rowe and Hoppe) prefer a Q₁ variant to a good Q₂ reading, regardless of whether the variant may happen to be aesthetically superior. For example, since Shakespeare apparently wrote that a rose by any other *word* (Q₂—II.ii.44) would smell as sweet, the editor has no license to prefer Q₁'s variant *name*, which would appear to be the reporter's memorial corruption. Thus it is here that I should like to suggest a modification of Mr. Duthie's proposed editorial policy. On the basis of an account (pp. 24-26) of the superiority of Q₁'s *pacing* to Q₂'s *puffing* in "lazier puffing Cloudes" (II.ii.31), Mr. Duthie concludes that in a given case "literary considerations" (p. 29) may influence the editor to prefer a Q₁ variant to a Q₂ reading. I would not challenge the argument of the aesthetic superiority of *pacing* to *puffing*. However, I believe it to be irrelevant, since *puffing* is semantically acceptable in its context²² and, obviously not being derived from Q₁, was probably derived from Shakespeare's manuscript. Thus while it *may* be corrupt it is not demonstrably in error. On the basis of my criticism of Mr. Duthie's theory of the copy for Q₂ I should, furthermore, challenge his explanation (p. 25) that an editor disregarded the correct *pacing* in both Q₁ and the authentic manuscript and in place of it transcribed *puffing*, a memorial corruption of the editor's based on recollection of the word *puffes* at Liv.102. It would seem more probable that *pacing* is the Q₁ reporter's memorial corruption and that the Q₂ compositor (or editor, as Mr. Duthie has it (p. 24), in admitting this a possibility) printed *puffing* rather than *pacing* because it was the reading of his manuscript copy. I suggest that the aesthetic judgment of the editor ("literary considerations") will necessarily be invoked in deciding whether a given Q₂ reading is corrupt, but that this judgment should be applied only to demonstrating error in a given Q₂ reading and never to demonstrating the superiority of a Q₁ variant to a "good" Q₂ reading.²³

The third situation is a *corrupt* Q₂ reading with Q₁ *agreeing*. A clear example of this is the reading "*Vtruuio*" (I.ii.69—apparently for "*Vitruuio*"), which the Q₂ compositor must have reproduced from Q₁, since it falls in that

²² I interpret *puffing* as alluding to the personification of winds in old maps as cloud-shaped heads puffing air from distended checks, and should gloss it as "up-swelling, inflating."

²³ I must add that the copy-text is not sacrosanct and that the editor should not blindly follow Q₂: the case for each reading must, of course, be argued on its own merits. But it follows, I think, that the editor should not "blindly" accept a variant reading of Q₁. Thus, in the present case, if it is the aesthetic judgment of the editor that Q₂'s *puffing* is corrupt, he should by all means emend it—but to *passing* (a manuscript reading which the Q₂ compositor might easily have misread as *puffing*) rather than to Q₁'s *pacing*. (The reading *passing* is Mr. Hoppe's emendation.)

section of Q2 where there is no evidence of manuscript copy. Thus where Q1 and Q2 agree in a corrupt reading the editor can assume that the Q1 reading is a memorial or compositorial error and the Q2 reading probably the compositor's reproduction of the Q1 corruption. The editor should not, therefore, be swayed from necessary emendation by the agreement of Q1 with Q2.

The fourth situation is a *corrupt* Q2 reading with Q1 *varying*. This is strictly the only situation where the editor may be warranted in adopting a Q1 reading. Generally, if the Q1 variant is good he can assume that the bad quarto has preserved the authentic reading. For example, Q2's *fire end fury* (III.i.129) is corrupt, as the corrector of Q3 (printed from Q2 in 1609) realized when he lamely emended *end* to *and*. Q1 here reads *eyed*, and the probability that the reporter's memory was correct is made a certainty on recognition that the word was probably spelled *eyd* in the manuscript copy for Q2 and that the Q2 compositor could therefore easily have misread it as *end*.²⁴

However, the editor of *Romeo and Juliet* should guard against the possibility that the Q1 variant to a corrupt Q2 reading may also be corrupt. Mr. Duthie recognizes this possibility when he writes (p. 29) that the editor may in a given case prefer "a third reading, consisting of an emendation of the Q2 reading to a reading different from that of Q1."²⁵ The principle is well illustrated by one of Mr. Hoppe's emendations. In Romeo's line "He gan in triumph and Mercutio slaine" (III.i.127), the editor should emend Q2's *gan* to *gay* instead of preferring Q1's variant *A liue* (i.e., "alive") to Q2's *He gan* (see note 24 above). Other examples I draw from my forthcoming edition. In Romeo's line "The game was nere so faire, and I am dum" (I.iv.39), the editor should emend Q2's *dum* to *dun* rather than to Q1's *done*.²⁶ Again, in the case of Juliet's line "It is some Meteor that the Sun exhale" (III.v.13), the editor should not prefer Q1's variant *exhales* but should recognize that Q2's *exhale* is probably the compositor's misreading of *exhald*.²⁷ Again, in Capulet's line "Of faire demeanes, youthfull and nobly liand" (III.v.182), the editor should emend Q2's *liand* to *limd* or *limmd* (i.e., "limb'd") rather than to Q1's *trainde*.²⁸ Still another example is provided by Mercutio's lines which stand in Q2 as follows:

²⁴ The manuscript reading may, of course, have been *eid* or *ied*. However, there are only a few exceptions in Q2 to the normal *y*-spelling of *eye* and its various forms, and another instance of the Q2 compositor's mistaking *y* for a tailed *n* is provided by his error two lines earlier of *gan* for *gay* (III.i.127). See Leon Kellner, *Restoring Shakespeare, A Critical Analysis of the Misreadings in Shakespeare's Works* (New York, 1925), pp. 86, 203, 216.

²⁵ Compare Sir Walter Greg: "I ought perhaps to explain that nothing I have said . . . should be taken to mean that when a reading of the copy-text appears to be corrupt it should necessarily be replaced by that of another substantive edition. So long as the copy-text can claim distinctly superior authority . . . it may often be more judicious to emend the copy-text by conjecture than to adopt the alternative reading" (*Editorial Problem*, p. xxxv, note 1).

²⁶ Since the spelling *dun* for *done* does not appear elsewhere in Q2, I assume in this case that *dun* is not a variant spelling of *done*. Romeo, of course, is playing on *fair* and punning on "done."

²⁷ The mistake of final *e* for *d* is one of the Q2 compositor's recurrent errors: *circle* for *circld* (II.ii.110), *dimme* for *damnd* (III.ii.79), *disguise* for *disguid* (III.iii.168), *change* for *changd* (III.v.31), *talke* for *talkd* (IV.i.7), *some* for *fond* (IV.v.82), and *shrike* for *shrikd* (that is, "shriek'd")—V.iii.190).

²⁸ Compare the spelling *lims* for "limbs" at II.iii.38 and V.iii.36. The error of *liand* for *limd* would involve the misreading of *ian* for *im*. A few among many of the Q2 compositor's misreadings of words with minim letters are *ottamie* for *attomie* (0:a, a:0—Liv.57), *prosaunt* for *pronounce* (na: no—II.i.10), *dimme* for *damnd* (imm: amn—III.ii.79), and *commiration* for *coniruation* (mmi:niu—V.iii.68).

O *Romeo* that she were, ô that she were
An open, or thou a Poprin Peare.

(II.i.37-38)

Here the second line is metrically, grammatically, and semantically deficient, and therefore most editors have followed the editor of the undated Q4 in adopting some version of Q1's line, "An open *Et cætera*, thou a poprin Peare."²⁹ But in thus preferring the Q1 reading editors have usually suppressed Q2's *or* and have apparently not recognized that the word omitted after *open* should be a monosyllable if the line is to scan properly. The reading required by meter and context is, in fact, *open-arse*, an old name used by Chaucer and other writers for "that kind of fruite, As maides call Medlers, when they laugh alone" (II.i.35-36—see *O.E.D.*). These examples suggest a modification of editorial policy toward Q1 variants: where Q1 varies from a corrupt Q2 reading, the editor should, because of the chance that Q1 may also be corrupt, make use of the Q1 variant only after he has exhausted the possibilities of emending the Q2 error within its own textual and bibliographical contexts without reference to Q1.

Aside from the unnecessary eclecticism of older editors, Q1 has influenced the received text of *Romeo and Juliet* in two different ways: through the Q2 compositor's use of Q1 as auxiliary copy for Q2, and through subsequent editors' reliance on the authority of Q1 where Q2 is corrupt. In order to control and minimize these influences, the modern editor can make use of two principles which emerge from the preceding discussion of individual textual readings. One is that in establishing his text the editor should be continually guided by the probabilities inherent in the various situations of agreement and variance between Q1 and Q2. The other is that the editor should attempt to solve cruxes in Q2 without reference to Q1 and that only after he has thus exhausted the possibilities of emending Q2 *in vacuo* should he have recourse to Q1 as the next most authoritative edition. I suggest that these two editorial principles may be profitably applied not only to individual textual readings but also to textual arrangements such as the location of stage directions, prose or verse lineation, and the assignment of speeches.

III

Because of the possibility that the Q2 compositor may have reproduced an error from Q1, the editor of *Romeo and Juliet* should constantly consider the probabilities inherent in the various situations of agreement and variance between Q1 and Q2. By attention to this principle the editor can explain the erroneous location of an entrance by the Nurse in both Q2 and the received text. In the following quotation from Q2 Mercutio is speaking:

²⁹ Of the various early derivative editions, only Q4 (printed between 1609 and 1637 from Q3, in turn printed from Q2) has seriously influenced the received text, chiefly through Pope's dependence on its evidence in conjunction with that of Q1. The Q4 editor habitually corrected the text by reference to Q1, as will be made evident in the subsequent argument of this paper. Other Q1 readings which he substituted for those of Q2 and Q3 are *agill* for *aged* (III.i.171), *thou* for *then* (III.iii.52), *pronounce* for *prouaunt*, and *doue* for *day* (both II.i.10). The only other noteworthy derivative edition of the seventeenth century is F2 (printed in 1632 from F1, in turn printed from Q3). The F2 editor did not refer to Q1, as will appear below and as is evident from his corrections of *able* for *aged* (III.i.171) and *couple* (misprinted *couply*) for *Prouant* (II.i.10).

I . . . meant indeed to occupie the argument no longer. 105

Ro. Heeres goodly geare. *Enter Nurse and her man.*

A sayle, a sayle.

Mer. Two two, a shert and a smocke.

(II.iv.103-110)

Here it would seem that "goodly geare" refers to the approaching Nurse rather than to the foregoing badinage among the gallants, and therefore that the stage direction should properly be located after l. 105 rather than in the middle of Romeo's immediately following line. In fact, the editor of F1 (1623) made the necessary correction, in which he was followed by subsequent editors until Capell (1768), whom most modern editors follow in returning to the corrupt arrangement of Q2. In this arrangement they are probably influenced by Q1, where the corresponding passage appears as follows:

I . . . meant indeed to occupie the argument no longer.

Rom: Heers goodly geare.

Enter Nurse and her man.

Mer: A saile, a saile, a saile.

Ben: Two, two, a shirt and a smocke.

Here the erroneous location of the direction is not surprising in view of the reporter's two errors in speech-assignment;³⁰ and the agreement of Q2 with Q1 in text, typography, and location suggests that both the ambiguous location of the direction in Q2 and the corrupt lineation of Romeo's speech were caused by the Q2 compositor's reproducing the erroneous arrangement in Q1.

By considering also whether the prose or verse arrangement of a given passage in Q2 agrees with or varies from that of its corresponding passage in Q1, the editor can learn whether the Q2 compositor probably derived that arrangement from Q1 or from Shakespeare's manuscript; and from this information he can generally ascertain whether an apparently corrupt arrangement in Q2 is actually in error. In some cases, to be sure, error of arrangement is sufficiently obvious as to render comparison with Q1 gratuitous. In others, however, since verse may be metrically irregular and prose may contain decasyllabic patches, it is questionable whether the Q2 arrangement is correct or in error, and the editor should, I suggest, rely on Shakespeare's intentions as they are revealed by a comparison of Q2 with Q1.³¹ Rather than dogmatize that the arrangement of a given Q2 passage is corrupt, I shall use the expression "suspect" of the verse arrangement of a passage whose lines are unmetrical, and of the prose arrangement of a passage whose parts fall naturally into a number of whole and easily scanned decasyllabic lines.

Where Q1 and Q2 agree in the suspect prose or verse arrangement of a given passage, the editor should suspect the possibility of the Q2 compositor's having reproduced the arrangement of Q1.³² On the other hand, where Q1

³⁰ See note 39 below. Capell (followed by so recent an editor as Kittredge) also returned to Q1's erroneous assignment of speeches in this passage.

³¹ Although the manuscript copy for Q2 was not "a fair copy, made by the author himself, of the work as he finally intended it" (Greg, *Editorial Problem*, p. x), I assume that Shakespeare's foul papers accurately represent his intentions in the matter of prose and verse arrangements.

³² Mr. Thomas (p. 111) points out two clear examples (I.iii.2-4 and 12-14) of the Q2 compositor's unnecessarily imitating the lineation of Q1's turned-over lines.

varies from the suspect verse or prose arrangement of a Q₂ passage, the editor will know that Q₁ did not influence Q₂, and therefore may assume (if there is no reason to suspect the Q₂ compositor of having changed the manuscript arrangement) that the compositor probably reproduced the arrangement of his manuscript copy and that the variant arrangement of Q₁ is therefore corrupt. Two illustrations must suffice. For example, the prose arrangement in Q₂ of the list of *invités* to Capulet's feast (I.ii.66-74) is undoubtedly based on the prose arrangement of Q₁, since the passage falls in that section of the text where there is no evidence of manuscript copy. The passage can hardly be called poetry, but it is nevertheless composed of regular decasyllabic lines. Therefore the editor may conclude that its prose arrangement in Q₁ is corrupt and that Dyce was correct in reprinting it as verse in his edition of 1865. Again, the prose arrangement of thirty-eight lines in Mercutio's Queen Mab speech (I.iv.54-91) provides a clear example. Pope's rearrangement of this passage as blank verse (1723) can be defended on two counts: the lines scan and are certainly poetry, and both the first line (53) and the last four lines of the speech (92-95) are correctly printed in Q₂ as verse. Thus in this case the variant verse arrangement of Q₁ is correct, and the Q₂ compositor must be accused of corrupting the arrangement of his manuscript copy. In fact, he appears to have disregarded its verse arrangement and set up ll. 54-91 (sig. C2^r) as prose in order to save space—an interpretation which is supported by the location and arrangement of the last four lines of the speech: since ll. 92-95 are carried over to C2^r and the compositor therefore could save no space by arranging them as prose, in composing these lines he returned to the verse arrangement of his manuscript copy. It appears, then, that the traditional arrangement of each of these passages is correct.

However, Q₂ and the received text would appear to be incorrect in their verse arrangement of two other passages. One is the first two lines of Benvolio's speech at III.i.1-4, which stands in Q₂ as follows:

Ben. I pray thee good *Mercutio* lets retire,
The day is hot, the *Capels* are abroad.
And if we meete we shall not scape a brawle, for now these hot
daies, is the mad blood stirring.

In Q₁ the corresponding passage appears as follows:

Ben: I pree thee good *Mercutio* lets retire,
The day is hot, the *Capels* are abroad.

Here the Q₂ compositor appears to have set up the first two lines of the passage directly from Q₁, the omission of Q₁'s *are* from III.i.2 being presumably an error of transmission. Thus the Q₂ text of these two lines is derivative, and, since the editor must here depend on the Q₁ reporter's memory for that text, it is possible that he should also depend on the reporter for its arrangement. It is true that the lines are both decasyllabic and regularly metrical. Nevertheless, the context in Q₂ is prose: the balance of the speech (ll. 3-4, which are omitted from Q₁ and whose prose arrangement therefore must have been derived from the manuscript copy) is both unmetrical and arranged as prose, and the first thirty-nine lines of III.i are prose. I suggest that the first two lines of III.i are decasyllabics imbedded in a prose speech (if not the Q₁ reporter's corruption of

what may originally have been clearly prose), that their verse arrangement in the substantive Q1 is corrupt (like the verse arrangement in Q1 of II.iv.6-7, clearly printed as prose in Q2), and therefore that the editor should reprint them in the prose arrangement which probably stood in the here disregarded manuscript copy.³³ The other passage is Mercutio's speech at II.iv.4-5, which stands in Q2 as follows:

Mer. Why that same pale hard hearted wench, that *Rosaline*,
Torments him so, that he will sure run mad.

In Q1 the corresponding passage appears as follows:

Mer: Ah that same pale hard hearted wench, that *Ro*-
Torments him so, that he will sure run mad. (*saline*,

Here the Q2 variant *Why* for Q1's *Ah* suggests that the Q2 compositor derived the text of these two lines from his manuscript copy. Moreover, the verse arrangement may properly be called suspect: the first line is not decasyllabic, the context (the first 190 lines of II.iv) is prose, and the only indication of verse in Q2 is the initial capital of *Torments*. However, this capital letter may have been derived by the Q2 compositor from Q1, and the second line is probably a decasyllabic imbedded in a prose passage. I suggest that the verse arrangement of these two lines in Q1 is corrupt (like that of the immediately following II. 6-7, clearly arranged as prose in Q2), and therefore that the editor should reprint them in the prose arrangement which probably stood in the here disregarded manuscript copy.³⁴

The situation is especially ambiguous in the case of seven prose speeches of the Nurse in I.iii which are traditionally arranged as verse.³⁵ Since Q1 and Q2 agree in the prose arrangement of six of them, it seems probable that the Q2 compositor reproduced the arrangement of Q1. But that prose arrangement is not demonstrably "suspect" in the sense that the parts of these passages fall naturally into a number of whole and easily scanned decasyllabic lines: while most of the lines in the traditional verse arrangement scan acceptably, a number of others do not readily scan and if they are verse are abnormally rough in comparison with Shakespeare's blank verse elsewhere in *Romeo and Juliet*.³⁶ Furthermore, decasyllabic lines imbedded in prose passages can be

³³ The Q2 compositor's imitation of Q1 here has led some editors incorrectly to arrange III.1.3-4 as verse.

³⁴ Again, the example of Q1 has led some editors incorrectly to arrange as verse II.iv.1-2 and 6-7. For the Q1 and Q2 arrangements of II.iv.6-7, see below, p. 26.

³⁵ I.iii.2-4, 12-15, 16-48, 50-57, 59-62, 67-68, and 75-76. I assume that all the Nurse's speeches in I.iii should be arranged in the same manner, and, since the style of arrangement does not affect the printing of her single-line speeches, I exclude them from the discussion, although it is true that most of them are decasyllabic lines.

³⁶ Examples of rough metrics are provided by the following lines, here quoted in the traditional arrangement of Kittredge's edition:

God forbid! Where's this girl? What, Juliet! . . . [I.iii.4]
She's not fourteen.

I'll lay fourteen of my teeth—
And yet, to my teen be it spoken, I have but four—
She is [Q2 shees] not fourteen. How long is it now . . . [12-14]
Come Lammas Eve at night shall she be fourteen. . . [17]
On Lammas Eve at night shall she be fourteen;

reasonably explained as Shakespeare's lapse into the more normal rhythm of blank verse, a phenomenon which recurs in novels by Dickens and Melville where the "lapse" is to the less normal rhythm of blank verse. And to this may be added the argument that Shakespeare generally writes comic speeches in prose,³⁷ a fact apparently recognized by Pope, Theobald, and Johnson in refusing to disturb the original prose arrangement of (among others) the Nurse's two longest speeches in I.iii.³⁸ If there is, then, from the aesthetic point of view some doubt that these passages are verse, the editor is again, as in the case of Q1 and Q2's agreeing in a suspect reading like "*Abraham: Cupid*," in an agnostic position: while the Q1 arrangement *may* be corrupt, there is no bibliographical means of proving that the Q2 arrangement did not also stand in Shakespeare's manuscript. Furthermore, there *is* bibliographical evidence suggesting that Q2 accurately reflects the manuscript arrangement: although the first three of the Nurse's seven speeches are undoubtedly derived from Q1 (since they fall in that section of Q2 where there is no evidence of manuscript copy), variants in the last three prove they were derived in part from the manuscript copy; and since the fourth speech (I.iii.50-57) is omitted from Q1, its eight-line text was certainly and its prose arrangement probably derived from Shakespeare's manuscript. Thus it is possible that the prose arrangement of four of the Nurse's speeches in I.iii is authentic; and if these passages (most of whose lines in the traditional verse arrangement scan acceptably) were arranged as prose in the manuscript copy, it seems further possible that the Nurse's other three speeches were there so arranged. Because of these possibilities and persistent faulty metrics, it would seem that Q2's prose arrangement of the Nurse's speeches in I.iii is more probably correct than incorrect, and therefore that the editor should reprint them in their original arrangement. Perhaps the final argument is the aesthetic one that if these speeches are arranged according to the editorial tradition Shakespeare is guilty of uncharacteristically halting verse, whereas if they are arranged as in the most authoritative edition he can be commended for prose comparable in brilliance to that of *Henry IV* or *Much Ado*. It would seem that Shakespeare's editors have here been doing him a profound disservice.

IV

Because Q1 may vary from Q2 but also be corrupt, the editor of *Romeo and Juliet* should attempt to emend a given error in Q2 within its own textual

That shall she, marry; I remember it well. . . [21-22]
 Sitting in the sun under the dovehouse wall. . . [27]
 When it did taste the wormwood on the nipple
 Of my dug and felt it bitter, pretty fool,
 To see it tetchy and fall out with the dug! . . . [30-32]
 I never should forget it. 'Wilt thou not, Jule?' quoth he, . . . [47]

In two cases (I.iii.34 and 62) the traditional verse arrangement also requires turning over extra syllables as dimeter lines.

³⁷ See Milton Crane, *Shakespeare's Prose* (University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 189-190. Mr. Crane accepts the traditional verse arrangement of the Nurse's speeches in I.iii (pp. 197-198, 200).

³⁸ I.iii.16-48 and 50-57 (a total of 41 out of 56 lines, or over 70%), first arranged as verse by Capell (1768). Pope (1723) first arranged as verse ll. 59-62, 67-68, and 75-76; Johnson (1765), ll. 2-4; and Steevens (1773), ll. 12-15.

and bibliographical contexts before having recourse to Q1. On the basis of this principle the modern editor can discover errors in the received text arising from the reliance of past editors on Q1 as authority for the assignment of speeches where Q2 is corrupt. For, as Mr. Hoppe has pointed out, the Q1 reporter frequently attributed speeches to the wrong characters (*The Bad Quarto*, pp. 125-126). A simple kind of error in speech-assignment merely involves the reporter's attributing the speech of one character to another. One example among several is the Friar's line "Come, is the Bride ready to go to Church?" (IV.v.33), which except for one variant is correctly reported in Q1 but erroneously assigned to Paris.³⁹ A more complex kind of error involves the Q1 reporter's splitting into two speeches what appears in Q2 as one, with the resultant erroneous assignment of one of the parts. The single example of this kind of error occurs in conjunction with a simple error of assignment.⁴⁰

Another kind of complex error in speech-assignment involves the Q1 reporter's fusing into one speech what appears in Q2 as two or more. An example occurs at II.i.41-42, where in Q2 Mercutio is speaking:

Come shall we go?

Ben. Go then, for tis in vaine to seeke him here
That meanes not to be found.

Exit.

In Q1, however, Benvolio's speech is fused with the last line of Mercutio's speech (ll. 33-41):

Come lets away, for tis but vaine,
To seeke him here that meanes not to be found.

Another example is provided by the exchange which stands in Q2 as follows:

Ben. Tibalt, the ki[n]sman to old *Capulet*, hath sent a leter to his
fathers house.

Mer. A challenge on my life.

(II.iv.6-8)

In Q1, however, the two speeches are fused and assigned to Mercutio:

Mer: Tybalt the Kinsman of olde *Capolet*
Hath sent a Letter to his Fathers House:
Some Challenge on my life.

Still another example is provided by the following dialogue in Q2:

Sam. Let vs take the law of our sides, let them begin.

Gre. I will frown as I passe by, and let them take it
as they list.

Samp. Nay as they dare, I wil bite my thumb at them,
which is disgrace to them if they beare it.

(I.i.45-50)

³⁹ Other simple errors in speech-assignment are provided by Montague's lines at I.i.111-112, which in Q1 are attributed to Montague's Wife; Mercutio's line at II.iv.109, which in Q1 is attributed to Benvolio; and Capulet's line at IV.ii.37, which in Q1 is attributed to the Mother.

⁴⁰ Romeo's line at II.iv.108 is in Q1 split in two and the latter half attributed to Mercutio; and Mercutio's immediately following line (109) is in Q1 attributed to Benvolio. For the text, see above, p. 22.

In Q₁, however, these lines are substantially fused into one speech and assigned to First Capulet (that is, Sampson):

1 Nay let vs haue the law on our side, let them begin first. Ile
tell thee what Ile doo, as I goe by ile bite my thumbe, which is dis-
grace enough if they suffer it.

A final example occurs at III.i.95-98, where in Q₂ Benvolio's line "What art thou hurt?" (95) and Romeo's line "Courage man, the hurt cannot be much" (98) are fused in Q₁ into Romeo's single line "What art thou hurt man, the wound is not deepe."⁴¹ From these examples we may conclude that occasionally the Q₁ reporter did not correctly remember the assignment of a given speech (even though he may have remembered its text with tolerable accuracy) and that he therefore erroneously assigned it to another character whom he knew to be on stage. To be sure, such failures of memory have not generally led modern editors astray except where they coincide with corruption in Q₂.

Thus one error in the received text of *Romeo and Juliet* is due to a fusing error in the assignment of speeches in Q₁ together with Q₂'s omission of a speech heading. The passage stands in Q₂ as follows:

Ro. I would I were thy bird.
Ju. Sweete so would I,
Yet I should kill thee with much cherishing:
Good night, good night.
Parting is such sweete sorrow, 186
That I shall say good night, till it be morrow.
Ju. Sleep dwel vpon thine eyes, peace in thy breast. 188
Ro. Would I were sleepe and peace so sweet to rest
(II.ii.184-189)

Here the faulty alternation of speeches immediately suggests that the Q₂ compositor must have omitted Romeo's speech heading from the second half of l. 186. The omission readily explains why the lineation is broken and "Parting is such sweete sorrow" was set up on a separate line of type: being Romeo's speech it stood in the manuscript copy directly under Juliet's "Good night, good night," and therefore the Q₂ compositor merely reproduced the arrangement of his manuscript copy, except for the omission of Romeo's speech heading.⁴² The editor or compositor of Q₃ inserted the necessary speech heading, which appears in all the folios and Rowe's edition of 1709.

The omission is probably the usual sort of compositor's error, but it might have been caused by the Q₂ compositor's glancing at his first quarto and noticing that Romeo's speech heading is there omitted. In fact, although the Q₁ reporter remembered the text of the four lines 186-189 fairly accurately, he did not remember that they belonged to a dialogue of four separate speeches and

⁴¹ The intervening lines in Q₂ (III.i.96-97) are partly omitted from Q₁ and partly transposed elsewhere.

⁴² Since "Parting is such sweete sorrow" forms a single line of verse with Juliet's line "Good night, good night," if it had been part of her speech it would probably have stood in the manuscript copy on the same line with its first part and have been so printed by the Q₂ compositor. The general fidelity of compositors to the lineation of their copy is shown by the reproduction in Q₄ and Q₅ of the Q₂ lineation despite the fact that in those editions both part-lines are assigned to Juliet.

therefore fused them into two speeches, assigning the first couplet to Juliet and the second to Romeo. Thus the corresponding passage appears in Q1 as follows:

Ro: Would I were thy bird.
 Jul: Sweet so would I,
 Yet I should kill thee with much cherrishing thee.
 Good night, good night, parting is such sweet sorrow,
 That I shall say good night till it be morrow. (breast,
 Rom: Sleepe dwell vpon thine eyes, peace on thy
 I would that I were sleep and peace so [Q1 of] sweet to rest.

On the authority of this arrangement the Q4 editor corrected Q3 by deleting Romeo's speech heading from l.186 ("Parting is such sweete sorrow"), deleting Romeo's heading from l.189 ("Would I were sleepe . . ."), and substituting Romeo's heading for Juliet's at l.188 ("Sleep dwel . . ."). All the folios, on the other hand, reprint this passage as it stands in Q2 with Q3's addition of Romeo's speech heading to l.186; and Rowe has it substantially right, except that he replaced Juliet's heading at l.188 with Romeo's, which he deleted from l. 189. He may here have influenced Pope, who in any case in his edition of 1723 introduced to the text Q1 and Q4's incorrect arrangement of this passage, which has been traditional ever since. I suggest that the modern editor should follow the assignment of these lines in Q2, with the addition of Romeo's speech heading to the second half of II.ii.186.

Another error in the received text is due to a simple error of speech-assignment in Q1 together with an instance of revisional duplication in Q2. An example of the latter phenomenon is the phrase "I will belecue," printed immediately before the "Shall I belecue" (V.iii.102) which the context demands and which editors correctly prefer as the revision of the earlier phrase. Presumably Shakespeare was dissatisfied with his first construction and revised it, but neglected to delete from his manuscript the original version, which was thus reproduced by the Q2 compositor.⁴³

A somewhat longer revisional duplication occurs at IV.i.109-112:

Then as the manner of our countrie is,	
In [Q2 Is] thy best robes vncouered on the Beere,	110
Be borne to buriall in thy kindreds graue:	+
Thou shall be borne to that same auncient vault,	111
Where all the kindred of the <i>Capulets</i> lie, . . .	

Here it seems clear that Shakespeare originally wrote a line ("Be borne to buriall in thy kindreds graue," omitted from modern editions) which he recognized did not suit the grammatical construction of his sentence—the subject and auxiliary verb not yet having been expressed. Finding it impossible to mend the error within the scope of the one line he had originally intended to

⁴³ In short examples the revision usually corrects Shakespeare's undeleted first thought. Thus the theory of revisional duplication would seem to license the editor to delete *did* from "My lips two blushing Pylgrims did readie stand" (I.v.97—after Q1); *Cozen* from "O Prince, O Cozen, husband, O the bloud is spild" (III.i.152—after Capell, 1768); *And* from "And by their owne bewties, or if loue be blind" (III.ii.9—after F2); *Rauenous* from "Rauenous doucefeatherd rauē, woluishrauening lamb" (III.ii.76—after Theobald, 1733); *O* from "O the people in the street crie *Romeo*" (V.iii.191—after Pope, 1723); and probably *all naught* from "All periurde, all forsworne, all naught, all dissemblers" (III.ii.86).

employ, Shakespeare accordingly expanded his first version into the two following lines (1111-112) which modern editors correctly prefer as the revision. However, he did not delete the original version, which the Q2 compositor reproduced along with its revision.

A well known example is the passage which, omitted from modern editions, appears in Q2 between V.iii.107 and 108:

Depart againe, come lye thou in my arme,	+
Heer's to thy health, where ere thou tumblest in.	+
O true Appothecarie!	+
Thy drugs are quicke. Thus with a kisse I die.	+

These lines are obviously an early draft, not deleted from the manuscript copy for Q2 and therefore reproduced by its compositor, of the thirteen following lines (108-120) which editors correctly prefer as the revision.

A somewhat more obscure example, but nevertheless one in which the editorial consensus supports the theory of revisional duplication, is provided by the passage which in Q2 stands as follows:

This may flyes do, when I from this must flie,	+
And sayest thou yet, that exile is not death?	43
But <i>Romeo</i> may not, he is banished.	40
Flies may do this, but I from this must flie:	41
They are freemen, but I am banished.	42

(III.iii.40-43)

Editorial opinion has in the past been divided on the solution of this crux, but the great majority of modern editors delete the first line quoted above and substitute for it the last three lines of the passage. If they are right, the Q2 passage can be explained by the theory that Shakespeare (having already written l. 43) revised his original line "This may flyes do, when I from this must flie" by expanding it into the last three lines of the passage; that he did not delete the original line from his manuscript; and that he did not clearly direct the three-line revision to a position before rather than after the concluding rhetorical question of l. 43: "And sayest thou yet, that exile is not death?" This theory of revisional duplication thus gives the editor a bibliographical reason for preferring the later line "Flies may do this, but I from this must flie" to the nearly duplicate earlier line "This may flyes do, when I from this must flie."⁴⁴

Since there is no evidence that any of these revisions was added to the text after the original writing of the manuscript, the presumption that they were made by the author at the time of originally writing the manuscript is suggested by the fact that in all the revisional duplications in Q2 the original version stands first and its revision second.⁴⁵ This would be the situation if the revisions had been written directly after or below their original versions during the original writing of the manuscript, whereas if they had been inserted at a

⁴⁴ Daniel (1875) and some other editors arrange this passage according to the modern tradition but prefer the original version of l. 41.

⁴⁵ The duplications in the 1598 quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost* are longer than those in Q2 of *Romeo and Juliet* and pose a more complex editorial problem; however, they are similar to those in Q2 in that the original versions appear to stand first and the revisions second.

later date in the margin some of them might appear in print ahead of their original versions. From this we may conclude in passing that the second version of a revisional duplication in Q2 is generally to be preferred as giving the author's intention in the matter of his revised text but that the position of the earlier version is to be preferred as giving the author's intention regarding the location of the revision.⁴⁶ Other evidence suggests that at least some of the revisions were made by the author during the original writing of the manuscript: in the first two of the four examples cited above the original versions are grammatically or rhetorically defective, so that if Shakespeare was at all alert (as he must have been, considering that the text proper of Q2 betrays no worse manuscript confusion than it does) their revision would have been an obvious necessity which he would immediately have undertaken.

Since in each of the preceding examples of revisional duplication both versions stand within a single character's speech, none of the duplications has caused any difficulty to modern editors, who correctly delete the first version and print the text of the second. Another case, however, is ambiguous in that the alternate versions appear in the speeches of two different characters: in Q2 an original version of II.iii.1-4 stands just before the end of Romeo's last speech in II.ii, whereas its revision stands at the beginning of the Friar's first speech in II.iii. The passage appears in Q2 as follows:

Ro. Would I were sleepe and peace so sweet to rest	188
The grey eyde morne smiles on the frowning night,	+
Checking the Easterne Clouds with streaks of light,	+
And darknesse flected like a drunkard reeles,	+
From forth daies pathway, made by <i>Tytans</i> wheeles.	+
Hence will I to my ghostly Friers close cell,	189
His helpe to craue, and my deare hap to tell.	

Exit.

Enter Friar alone with a basket. (night,

Fri. The grey-eyed morne smiles on the frowning	1
Checking the Easterne clowdes with streaks of light:	
And fleckeld darknesse like a drunkard reeles,	
From forth daies path, and <i>Titans</i> burning wheeles:	
Now ere the sun aduance his burning eie, . . .	5

(II.ii.188-II.iii.5)

Since in all other instances of revisional duplication in Q2 the second version gives the revised text and the first version indicates the correct position of that text, the fact that the original version of this duplication stands in Romeo's speech suggests that the passage does, in fact, properly belong to his speech.⁴⁷ Here, as in the revisional duplication at III.iii.40-43, the original version was apparently not deleted from the manuscript and the revision not directed to its proper location before Romeo's closing couplet of II.ii. Although there is no evidence of whether the revision was made at the time of originally writing the manuscript or at a later date, the evidence of other revisional duplications

⁴⁶ This principle is of some help in straightening out the tangle of Romeo's lines at III.iii.40-43: "This may flies do. . ."

⁴⁷ That the second version here is indeed the revision is proved by its substantial appearance in Q1.

suggests the presumption of the former situation. If, this being the case, the revision stood in the manuscript below ll. 189-190 rather than in the margin, and if the speech headings were added later than the time of original writing (as in the manuscript of *Sir Thomas More*), the error of prefixing the revision (rather than the fifth line of II.iii) with the Friar's speech heading would have been an easy one for Shakespeare or a manuscript corrector to have made.

An aesthetic argument can also be urged in support of assigning the "grey-ey'd morn" passage to Romeo. Its ornate and sensuous imagery resembles Romeo's rather than the Friar's, whose personifications are generally homiletic, such as Grace, Will, or Care. For example, compare the imagery of the "grey-ey'd morn" passage with that in Romeo's lines at III.v.7-10:

looke loue what enuious streakes
Do lace the seuering cloudes in yonder East:
Nights candles are burnt out, and iocand day
Stands tipto on the mystie Mountaine tops, . . .

Moreover, the "grey-ey'd morn" passage is appropriate to the iterated imagery of day and night which Shakespeare associates with the lovers throughout the play. Thus Romeo's scene with Juliet is fittingly concluded with a set piece on dawn, since, as in the later window scene (III.v), it is the coming of day (already mentioned by Juliet at II.ii.178) which separates the lovers. Finally, when located in Romeo's speech this passage provides, through dealing with the same subject as the Friar's opening line of II.iii ("Now ere the sun aduance his burning eie . . ."), a calculated time-clue suggesting the simultaneity of the end of II.ii and the beginning of II.iii; and thus the Friar's echo at II.iii.5 of Romeo's epithet *burning* (II.iii.4) becomes an effective verbal link between the two scenes rather than the clumsy repetition which most editors must consider it who prefer Q1's variant *fierie*.

The correct assignment of the "grey-ey'd morn" passage to Romeo has in the past been obscured by the Q1 reporter's having erroneously attributed it to the Friar. Thus the corresponding passage stands in Q1 as follows:

I would that I were sleep and peace so [Q1 of] sweet to rest.
Now will I to my Ghostly fathers Cell,
His help to craue, and my good hap to tell.

Enter Frier Francis. (night,

Frier: The gray ey'd morne smiles on the frowning
Checking the Easterne clouds with streakes of light,
And flecked darkenes like a drunkard reeles,
From forth daies path, and *Titans* fierie wheelles:
Now ere the Sunne aduance his burning eye, . . .

Here as elsewhere the Q1 reporter apparently remembered the text of the disputed passage fairly accurately (except for the variant of *fierie* for *burning*), but incorrectly assigned the passage to the Friar, probably because of the similarity of its imagery to that of the Friar's line at II.iii.5. The reporter's confusion at this point is further illustrated by his erroneous assignment of speeches in the immediately preceding lines (II.ii.186-189) and by his incorrect designation of the Friar as Francis (obviously in memory of the Friar's invocations of

the founder of his order), even though later in the play he more than once correctly refers to him as Laurence.

As this revisional duplication stands in Q2, Q3, and F1, it can be corrected in either of two ways: by the deletion of one of the versions and the assignment of the other either to Romeo or the Friar. The F2 editor solved the crux in substantially correct fashion by letting the original version stand in Romeo's speech and by deleting the revision from the Friar's speech. His arrangement was followed by F3, F4, and Rowe. The Q4 editor, on the other hand, characteristically consulted Q1, and, on the authority of that edition's erroneous assignment of this passage to the Friar and perhaps also on the instinctive assumption that the position of the revision ought to be correct, deleted the original version from Romeo's speech and left the revision standing in the Friar's. In his edition of 1723 Pope, who apparently consulted Q1 and Q4, suppressed the correct arrangement of the folio tradition and introduced to the text the incorrect arrangement of Q1 and Q4, which has remained traditional ever since. I suggest that the modern editor should delete the original Q2 version of the "grey-ey'd morn" passage from Romeo's speech at the end of II.ii and replace it with the revised version, which should be removed from the Friar's speech at the beginning of II.iii.⁴⁸

Still another error in the received text is due to a simple error of speech-assignment in Q1. The passage stands in Q2 as follows:

Nur. I speake no treason,
 Father, ô Godigeden,
 May not one speake?
 Fa. Peace you mumbling foole,
 Vtter your grauitie
 (III.v.173-175)

The editors of both F2 and Q4 considered this passage corrupt, but each corrected it differently. Without reference to Q1 the F2 editor deleted *Father*, whereas the Q4 editor apparently turned for guidance to Q1, where the corresponding passage appears as follows:

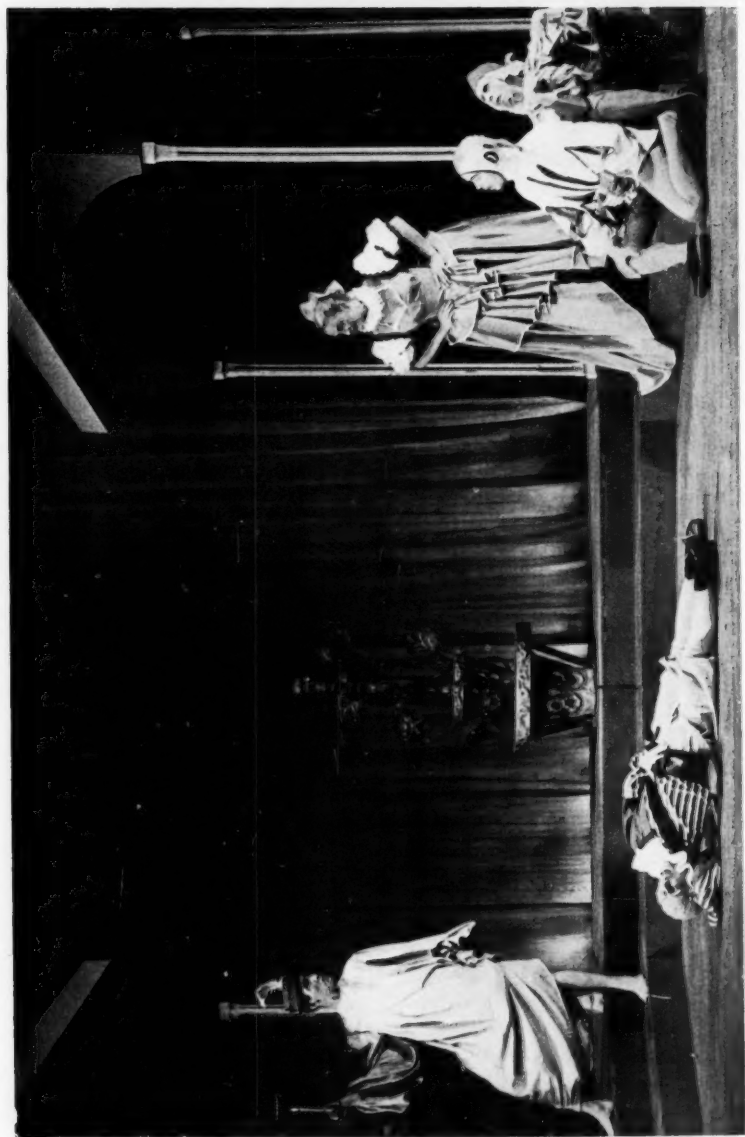
Nur: Why my Lord I speake no treason.
 Cap: Oh goddegodden.
 Vtter your grauity

On the authority of Q1 the Q4 editor interpreted *Father* as Capulet's speech heading (which is, to be sure, "*Fa.*" in this section of Q2) and prefixed "May not one speake?" with the Nurse's heading. However, it would seem that the original Q2 text is not demonstrably in error: in outrage or sarcasm the Nurse explodes "Father!", in exasperation offers to leave with her characteristic

⁴⁸ Although variant spellings in Q2 and the variant *burning* for Q1's *fierie* suggest a manuscript source for the second Q2 version of the "grey-ey'd morn" passage, it is, of course, possible that the second Q2 version is not a revisional duplication but rather a bibliographical link with Q1 caused by the Q2 compositor's having set up the first Q2 version from Shakespeare's manuscript and the second Q2 version from Q1. In this case, however, the Q2 assignment of the "grey-ey'd morn" passage to Romeo would be all the more authentic and its assignment to the Friar in Q1 clearly the reporter's memorial error. The editor who made this assumption would therefore delete the second Q2 version from the Friar's speech in II.iii and leave the first Q2 version standing in Romeo's speech in II.ii. This is, incidentally, the F2 editor's solution of the crux.



Measure for Measure at the Baylor University Theater, with costume and stage designs by Reynold Arnould.



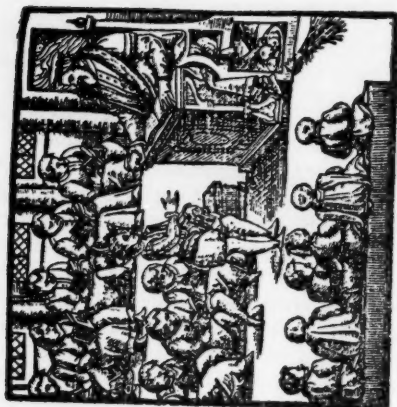
Scene in *Twelfth Night* as presented in Korea by Players Inc., a group of graduates of Catholic University. The troupe toured FECOM under the auspices of U. S. Special Services in March and April 1952. A sign outside the building cautioned spectators to "clear weapons before entering theatre." (U.S. Army Photograph)

salutation "O—Godigeden," and resentfully mutters as she goes "May not one speake?" (Nor does she speak again till III.v.215, after the Father and Mother have left the stage.) The only indubitable error in Q2 is the lineation, which may be attributed either to obscurity in the manuscript copy or to the Q2 compositor's having reproduced the lineation of Q1. Otherwise, the Q2 variations from Q1 (including the variant spelling *Godigeden*) are obviously derived from Shakespeare's manuscript; it is difficult to believe that *Father* was a speech heading in the manuscript copy, since in Q2 it is neither abbreviated, italicized, nor indented; the correction of *Father* to Capulet's speech heading involves the unwieldy additional assumption of a second Q2 error in the omission of the Nurse's heading from "May not one speake?"; and for that heading there is no authority in Q1. Furthermore, in view of the Q1 reporter's many errors in speech-assignment and his having forgotten at exactly this point considerable phrases from both the Nurse's and Capulet's speeches, he could easily have made the erroneous assignment of *Oh goddegodden* to Capulet rather than to the Nurse. The F2 editor's more conservative correction of this passage was adopted by Shakespeare's editors until Capell (1768), but Capell introduced to the text the Q4 editor's correction, which has been traditional ever since. I suggest that the modern editor might well reject both emendations and reprint this passage substantially as it stands in Q2.

V

In conclusion, I shall briefly summarize the general principles motivating this discussion of the corrupting influence of the bad quarto on the received text of *Romeo and Juliet*. One is that where a bad quarto exists the editor should attempt to emend a given error in the corresponding good text without reference to the bad, because of the possibility that the variant reading of the bad text may also be corrupt. Thus only after he has exhausted the possibilities of emending a good text error within its own textual and bibliographical contexts should the editor have recourse to the bad quarto as probably preserving the authentic text. Another is that where a bad quarto has been used to any extent as copy for the corresponding good text the editor should, because of the possibility that the bad quarto may be in error and have corrupted the good text, be guided in establishing his text by the probabilities inherent in the various situations of agreement and variance between the two editions. Still another is that the editor should apply the foregoing principles not only to individual textual readings but also to textual arrangements such as the location of stage directions, prose or verse lineation, and the assignment of speeches. I suggest the possibility that editors might profitably apply one or more of these principles to other textual situations where bad quartos stand in approximately the same relation to their corresponding good texts as Q1 does to Q2 of *Romeo and Juliet*.

University of Virginia



Alexander Nowell's *A Catechisme*, 1593. First printed about 1570, this catechism continued in use for nearly seventy years. It is typical of the books used for religious instructions in the schools. The woodcut of a school room is printed on the verso of the title-page.

"Nay, That's Not Next!"

The Significance of Desdemona's "Willow Song"

ERNEST BRENNECKE



FEW minutes before her death, Desdemona sings a song, "an old thing," as she calls it, "The Song of Willow." (*Othello* IV. iii. 27ff.). Shakespeare's revision of the words of this song, his requirements for the rearrangement of the music, the subtle and purposeful way in which he has embedded the composition in his scene, comprise one of his most astonishing feats in dramaturgy—a feat which, I think, has not yet been completely analyzed and evaluated. I should like to indicate in particular how this episode gives us a surprising flash of insight into the recesses of the heroine's character, more revealing indeed than any conscious soliloquy of hers could have been.

Many variants of this song have come down to us.¹ All of them dramatize the plight of a male lover scorned by his mistress, and the refrain, "Sing all a green willow, willow, willow . . ." runs through them all. The words, and undoubtedly the tune, may be dated at least as far back as the reign of Henry VIII. The composition, in its various forms, was certainly well known and well liked in Elizabethan and Jacobean times.

The earliest MS. version of the words runs as follows:

1. The poor soul sat sighing by a sicamore tree,
Sing willow, willow, willow, willow,
With his hand in his bosom, his head upon his knee,
Oh, willow, willow, willow, willow,
Shall be my garland.
Sing all a green willow, willow, willow, willow;
Ah me, the green willow must be my garland.

¹The earliest known version of the words, tune, and lute accompaniment is in the British Museum MS. Add. 15117. William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 1859, I, 206-208, prints the words and tune from the B.M. MS., mentions the variant found in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 54, and quotes a portion of the version preserved in Percy's *Reliques*, 1765, I, 175. Percy copied the words from an item in Pepys's collection, called "A Lover's Complaint." Louis C. Elson, *Shakespeare in Music*, 1900, pp. 290-296, reprinted Percy's copy in its entirety. Other editions and commentaries may be consulted in Richmond Noble, *Shakespeare's Use of Song*, 1923, pp. 123-126; Tucker Brooke, *The Shakespeare Songs*, 1929, frontispiece (facsimile of the B.M. MS.), pp. 69, 141. Another early version of the music, without the words, entitled "All a greane willowe," is referred to by Chappell, II, 774, as existing in MS. D. iii, 30, at Trinity College, Dublin (Thomas Dallis' Lute Book, dated 1583). E. H. Fellowes' conjectural arrangement of the song to fit Shakespeare's words may be found in Noble, pp. 152-154.

An amusing indication of the continuing popularity of the ballad is the appearance of a burlesque upon it in Playford's *Pleasant Musical Companion*, 1686, called "A poor soule sate sighing—near a gingerbread stall."

2. He sigh'd in his singing and made a great moan,
Sing willow, etc.
I am dead to all pleasure, my true love is gone,
Oh, willow, etc.
3. The mute bird sat by him was made tame by his moans,
The true tears fell from him would have melted the stones.
4. Come, all you forsaken, and mourn you with me;
Who speaks of a false love, mine's false than she.
5. Let love no more boast her in palace nor bower;
It buds, but it blasteth ere it be a flower.
6. Though fair, and more false, I die with thy wound;
Thou hast lost the truest lover that goes upon the ground.
7. Let nobody chide her, her scorns though I prove,
She was born to be false, and I to die for her love.
8. Take this for my farewell and latest adieu,
Write this on my tomb, that in love I was true.

As to Shakespeare's adjustments of this song for his own purposes, Noble has made the most perceptive comment that I have seen. Unfortunately, it does not go into detail. "In the adaptation and selection which Shakespeare made in the ballad," he wrote, "the changes and arrangement were directed, not only to an improvement in form, but also to making the subject matter appropriate to Desdemona's sex and miserable distress. Such evident care ought to be sufficient in itself to excite in producers some sympathy with Shakespeare's aim in his use of song." Chappell declared simply that "Shakespeare has somewhat varied it to apply to a female character." According to Tucker Brooke, he "altered it but little, except to change the sex of the singer."

Altered it but little! In addition to "applying it to a female character," Shakespeare did the following:

1. He invented Desdemona's mother's maid Barbara, whose lover went mad, and who died while singing this song.
2. He interrupted the song with such simple and yet tense dramatic interjections as "Lay by these," "Nay; unpin me here" (Emilia is preparing Desdemona for her marriage- and death-bed), and "Prithee, hie thee; he'll come anon."
3. Entirely out of its context and rhyme, Shakespeare required Desdemona to sing: "Let nobody blame him; his scorn I approve"—lifting the idea from stanza 7 of the song, and recalling, with the audience, how the Moor had so brutally struck her in public that very afternoon.

Desdemona's subconscious mind has here played her a trick, of Shakespeare's almost diabolical devising. In her sense of imminent doom she twists the words of the ancient song so as to apply them to her own tragic situation. She is still sufficiently alert, however, to sense that she has made a mistake. She corrects herself by exclaiming, "Nay, that's not next!" Then, overcome with foreboding, she imagines that she hears someone at the door. "Hark! Who is't that knocks?"

Partially reassured by Emilia's sensible remark, "It is the wind," she completes her song.

4. Finally, Shakespeare causes Desdemona, who only vaguely recalls the words "false love" from stanza 4, and "She was born to be false" from stanza 7, to improvise an entirely original couplet, both touching and grim in its implications:

I call'd my love false love, but what said he then?

"If I court mo[r]e women, you'll couch with more men."

In spoken utterance Desdemona would never spontaneously use so indecorous a word as "couch." Ironically enough, her very purity and delicacy contribute to her undoing. When Othello demands, "Swear thou art honest," she can only reply, "Heaven doth truly know it."

Oth.: Heaven truly knows that thou art false as hell.

Des.: To whom, my lord? With whom? How am I false?

Oth.: O Desdemon! Away, away, away!

Des.: Alas the heavy day! Why do you weep?

(IV. ii. 38ff.)

Thus communication between the two breaks down. Desdemona's inability to bring her husband to make a circumstantial accusation, which she might refute in clear, if in necessarily indelicate, terms, becomes increasingly apparent:

Des.: Alas, what ignorant sin have I committed?

Oth.: Was this fair paper, this most goodly book,

Made to write "whore" upon? . . .

Impudent strumpet!

(IV. ii. 70ff.)

From here on he repeatedly calls her "whore," a word whose very sound and connotation she can repeat only with the greatest loathing:

Des.: . . . by this light of heaven,

I know not how I lost him . . .

. . . I cannot say "whore."

It doth abhor me now I speak the word;

To do the act that might the addition earn

Not the world's mass of vanity could make me.

(IV. ii. 150ff.)

But what she cannot say, she sings. The last couplet of her song tells us that she is inwardly and explicitly aware of the cause of Othello's passion. There is no hint of the idea or phrasing of the conclusion of her song in any of the older versions of the ballad. Desdemona invents and sings it as if in a dream or a deep reverie, thereby revealing more of her subconscious awareness than any spoken words could indicate. This, then, is one of the many scenes in which Shakespeare uses music to tell us what his characters could not communicate by any other means. It is analogous to the mad Ophelia's self-revelation in her singing of ballad-snatches.

Here is the way it would go in a proper performance, with the Elizabethan tune. (I omit the lute accompaniment, which on the Shakespearian stage might have been provided by one of the musicians in the upper gallery.)

Des.: My mother had a maid call'd Barbary;
 She was in love, and he she lov'd prov'd mad
 And did forsake her. She had a song of "Willow";
 An old thing 'twas, but it express'd her fortune,
 And she died singing it. That song tonight
 Will not go from my mind; I have much to do
 But to go hang my head all at one side
 And sing it like poor Barbara. Prithee, dispatch.

Emilia: Shall I go fetch your nightgown?

Des.: No, unpin me here. (*Sings*)



1. The poor soul sat sigh-ing by a
 2. The fresh streams ran by her, and
 sy-ca-more tree. Sing all a green wil-low.
 mur-mur'd her moans. Sing wil-low, wil-low.
 Her hand on her bo-som, her head on her knee. Sing
 Her salt tears fell from her, and soft-ned the stones. Sing
 wil-low, wil-low, wil-low, wil-low. [Speaking]: "Lay by these."
 wil-low wil-low, wil-low, wil-low.
 Sing wil-low, wil-low, willow, wil-low. "Prithee, hie thee; he'll come anon."
 Sing all a green wil-low, wil-low, wil-low, wil-low.
 Sing all a green wil-low must be my gar-land. Let
 no-bo-dy blame him, his scorn I ap-prove. "Nay, that's not next.
 Hark! Who is't that knocks?"
Emilia: "It's the wind." I call'd my love false love, but what said he
 then? Sing wil-low, wil-low, willow, wil-low. If I
 court more wo-men, you'll couch with more men.

Des.: So get thee gone; good night. Mine eyes do itch;
 Doth that bode weeping?

When the old ballad is sung with all of Shakespeare's verbal interruptions in their proper places, the effect of the scene may be recognized as one of his triumphs of insight, pathos, and tragedy.

Columbia University

Shakespeare in the Rockies

LEVETTE J. DAVIDSON



THE extent of the reading and performance of Shakespeare's plays is commonly regarded throughout the English speaking world as one of the most reliable of touchstones for measuring cultural development. Furthermore, Shakespearians are always interested in the ways the bard of Avon has been received in far places and at different times. The following account of the coming of Shakespeare's works to the Rocky Mountain West illustrates again, with humorous and novel variations, the universality and the adaptability of the masterpieces of England's greatest literary genius. It indicates, also, the rapid changes in theatrical conditions in one American region during the past century (1850-1950).

I

Among the earliest records of white men living in the Rockies are those of fur trappers and Indian traders. Some of these daring pioneers were totally illiterate; others had attended grade school for a few years. Only those with great native shrewdness, however, survived. The reactions of such men to Shakespeare's plays have come down to us in scattered references, indicating that when books were carried into the Far West, Shakespeare's works were among them. W. T. Hamilton, for example, an active trapper and trader from 1842 to 1847 and a companion of the famous Bill Williams, noted in his reminiscences, *My Sixty Years on the Plains*,¹ that a Kentucky trapper whom he met in 1842 in the Wind River region of what is now Wyoming gave him "a copy of Shakespeare and an ancient and modern history which he had in his pack." Bill Hamilton further commented, with pardonable exaggeration: "We had an abundance of reading matter with us; old mountain men were all great readers."

With the decline of the fur trade, some of the most famous of the frontiersmen sought employment as guides for army units sent out to subdue the Indians, for emigrant trains going to Oregon, or for sportsmen attracted by the big game of the Rockies. While so serving, Old Jim Bridger met Shakespeare. From 1854 to 1857 Sir George Gore, Irish baronet and enthusiastic hunter, supported probably the largest hunting expedition ever witnessed in the West. He hired Jim Bridger, whom he found at Fort Laramie, to go along as head guide and storyteller. Many an evening Sir George would read aloud and then await the reactions of his illiterate but distinguished companion. "His

¹ Columbus, Ohio, 1951 (a reprint of 1905 original edition), p. 68.

favorite author was Shakespeare, which Bridger 'reckon'd was a leetle too highfalutin' for him; moreover, he remarked that he 'rayther calculated that thar Dutchman, Mr. Full-stuff, was a leetle bit too fond of lager beer,' and suggested that probably it might have been better for the old man if he had imbibed the same amount of alcohol in the more condensed medium of good old Bourbon whisky."²

Further evidence as to Bridger's reaction to Shakespeare was given by Mrs. Margaret I. Carrington, wife of an army officer in the Indian wars. She wrote:

[Jim Bridger] cannot read, but he enjoys reading. He was charmed by Shakespeare; but doubted the Bible story of Samson's tying foxes by the tails, and with firebrands burning the wheat of the Philistines. At last he sent for a good copy of Shakespeare's plays, and would hear them read until midnight with unfeigned pleasure. The murder of the two princes in the tower startled him to indignation. He desired it to be read a second and a third time. Upon positive conviction that the text was properly read to him, he burned the whole set, convinced that "Shakespeare must have had a bad heart and been as de—h mean as a Sioux, to have written such scoundrelism as that."³

Somewhat similar is the account given by J. Lee Humfreville, who spent the winter of 1863-64 at Fort Laramie with Jim Bridger:

Bridger became very much interested in this reading, and asked which was the best book that had ever been written. I told him that Shakespeare's was supposed to be the greatest book. Thereupon he made a journey to the main road, and lay in wait for a wagon train, and bought a copy from some emigrants, paying for it with a yoke of cattle, which at that time could have been sold for one hundred and twenty-five dollars. He hired a German boy, from one of the wagon trains, at forty dollars a month, to read to him. The boy was a good reader, and Bridger took great interest in the reading, listening most attentively for hours at a time. Occasionally he got the thread of the story so mixed up that he would swear a blue streak, then compel the young man to stop, turn back, and reread a page or two, until he could get the story straightened out. This continued until he became so hopelessly involved in reading "Richard the Third" that he declared he "wouldn't listen any more to the talk of a man who was mean enough to kill his mother." That ended our reading of Shakespeare, much to my disgust, for I was again doomed to be kept awake at all hours of the night by his aboriginal habits. After that it was amusing to hear Bridger quote Shakespeare. He could give quotation after quotation, and was always ready to do so. Sometimes he seasoned them with a broad oath, so ingeniously inserted as to make it appear to the listener that Shakespeare himself had used the same language.⁴

II

The first productions of Shakespeare's dramas in the Rockies took place in Salt Lake City, Utah Territory. The Mormons have always encouraged whole-

² Captain R. B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life* (New York, 1874), 403-404.

³ Margaret I. Carrington, *Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka, Land of Massacre* (Philadelphia, 1868 and 1878), 114.

⁴ J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years Among Our Hostile Indians* (New York, 1874), pp. 403-

some entertainment, including the theater. In 1850, only three years after their arrival in the Salt Lake valley, they established the Deseret Musical Dramatic Association. On January 1, 1853, they dedicated a new building, called Social Hall, as chief place of amusement. "Soon after the dedication of Social Hall," according to Myrtle E. Henderson, "a bust of Shakespeare was placed above the stage, and there it remained until the theatre was torn down."⁵

A Social Hall playbill for March 12, 1856, announces a performance of *Othello or the Moor of Venice!* "with a cast of local talent, including B. Snow as Othello, W. H. Wilson as Iago, Mrs. Hyde as Desdemona, etc." A duet, "Love Not," by Mr. Willes and Mrs. Hawkins was to follow, "To Conclude With The Laughable Farce Entitled The Two Bonnycastles!" "Doors open at 6 1-2 o'clock—performance to commence at 7 precisely." During the 1856-57 season *Richard III* was also given.⁶

Hamlet was produced in Salt Lake City on December 24, 1864, by Mr. Pauncefort, an Englishman; and *Macbeth* followed, on January 4, 1865. The playbill announced the latter in the following phrases:

The Management takes pleasure in announcing that in order to render complete the representation of this great masterpiece of the *Immortal Bard*, they have procured all of/Locke's original Music/and for the production of the/Magnificent Witch Choruses,/Have Secured the best Musical talent the city affords, composed in part of the Tabernacle choir, Members of the Deseret Musical Association, and others, all of whom have most enthusiastically volunteered their valuable services./

The Music and Choruses under the Direction of Professor Thomas./Will be presented for the first time in this Territory/Shaksear's [sic.] Sublime Play,/Macbeth/King of Scotland/⁷

Here is a blending of the talents of a star actor with those of local musical groups, for which the Mormons have been famous, in an unusual adaptation of one of Shakespeare's masterpieces.

III

In many ways the history of the pioneer theatre in Colorado and of Shakespearean performances in early day Denver and adjacent mining camps parallels the story already told about "troupers of the gold coast" of California.⁸ In both locales Shakespeare was considered as one of the good things in life that the new found gold or silver should buy. Moral opposition to the theater, still strong in some areas back East, did not exist. Instead, the better type of drama was highly respected and patronized as a mark of culture. In fact, one of the prominent business establishments of Central City, Colorado, just across from the National Theatre, was named the Shakespeare Saloon. As in London during Elizabethan days, Shakespeare in his Western reincarnations was often produced in competition with more earthy and rowdy entertainment;

⁵ *A History of the Theatre in Salt Lake City from 1850 to 1870* (Evanston, Ill., July 1934), p. 28.

⁶ George D. Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse* (Salt Lake City, Utah), pp. 53 and 33-34.

⁷ Pyper, pp. 114-115.

⁸ "Shakespeare in the California Gold Rush," Chapter XI of Esther Cloudman Dunn's *Shakespeare in America* (New York, 1939), pp. 205-218.

Denver's early theaters, for example, were next door to saloons, dance halls, and gambling establishments, or on the floor above.⁹ The economic status of frontier actors was even more precarious than that of the players for whom Shakespeare wrote his dramas. But in spite of the crude physical surroundings and the often amateurish or over-done acting, the audiences are reported to have responded in numbers and with appreciation whenever a local stock company or a traveling troupe would venture to offer Shakespeare's immortal characters and poetry. They even turned out in Denver on July 27, 1861, to see a local gambler appear as the lead in *Hamlet*, on a bet made in response to an item in the *Rocky Mountain News* in which the writer offered to wager one hundred dollars that no one could play that part after only three days' study. The performance was "a highly creditable one."¹⁰

The first season of theatrical productions in the Pike's Peak gold region was opened by Colonel Charles R. Thorne's Star Company at Apollo Hall, Denver City, on October 3, 1859, in the *Cross of Gold*, "after which a favorite dance, by the beautiful and accomplished artist, M'le Haydee, to conclude with the laughable farce of *The Two Gregories*."¹¹ Colonel Thorne, who had retired the year before as manager of the Metropolitan Hall Theatre in Chicago, had brought his company and his costumes by ox-team and prairie-schooner from Leavenworth to the little settlement at the junction of Cherry Creek and the South Platte River in the hope of sharing the golden fortunes of the gold seekers. During the following week *Richard III*, followed by the farce *Luck in a Name*, was given with Colonel Thorne in the part of Richard and M'le Haydee, the dancer and actress whom Thorne had found already in Denver upon his arrival, as Queen Elizabeth. Although newspaper accounts praised the productions, Colonel Thorne's company remained but one week more in Denver, using Sheridan Knowles's *William Tell* as the main piece. Then Thorne and one of his sons left for the East. The management of the company was taken over by M'le Haydee, but without much success.

On August 10, 1860, John S. Langrishe, a highly popular actor and successful manager, arrived in Denver and began a theatrical career in the Rockies that lasted throughout the remainder of the pioneer era. During the previous winter he had played with his own company at Fort Riley, going to Fort Kearney in the spring for an eight-week season, followed by three months at Fort Laramie. Now he was ready to tackle the mining camps, developing what in time came to be known as "the Gold Circuit." Among the first plays to be given in Denver by Langrishe's Dramatic Company was *Othello*, performed December 17, 1860, in the Apollo Theatre. On February 14, 1861, the play was repeated, with Mrs. Langrishe as Desdemona and J. H. Wright as Iago. Since Langrishe was a comedian he did not offer Shakespeare very often, but his company did more than any other troupe to carry good drama to the mining camps located within a hundred miles or less of Denver.

When Denver's grand new Platte Valley Theatre opened on October 26, 1861, Shakespeare's *Richard III* was the main attraction. The production was

⁹ Melvin Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights; A Biography of the Pike's Peak Theatre, 1859-1876* (Denver, 1941).

¹⁰ Schoberlin, pp. 61-62.

¹¹ Schoberlin reproduces the original playbill, opposite p. 23.

described in the *Rocky Mountain News*, probably by editor William N. Byers, a great supporter of the theater, as follows:

The audience busied itself for a half hour before the curtain went up in comments on the arrangements of the building, and in reading the ingenious cards which our friend Mark Amsden had so artistically scattered over the Drop Curtain. At length the bell rang up the drop, and Sam D. Hunter came forward and pronounced the opening address. It was able, eloquent, and appropriate, and was received with loud plaudits. Shakespeare's great tragedy of *Richard III* was the opening play, and to say that it was well performed is doing but feeble justice to all who participated in its representation. With new scenery and machinery, with all the disadvantages of limited practice and rehearsal—we did not look for much else than an indifferent performance. But we were most happily disappointed. Mr. H. B. Norman, as King Richard, acquitted himself in a most creditable and satisfactory manner; Mr. Goodall, as Earl of Richmond, maintained his well earned reputation as an actor; Mr. Hunter, Mr. Pardey, Mr. Partello, Mr. Whittall, and others each filled most excellently the parts assigned them. Miss Marietta as Lady Anne surprised everybody. Her reading was clear and distinct, and her acting impressive and effective. . . .

After the first play, Mlle Haydee, the beautiful and accomplished danseuse, appeared in *La Zingarella*, and was received with the most rapturous applause. On a second call she gave the Highland Fling in exquisite style.

The afterpiece was the side-splitting farce, "The Devil's in the Room"—George Pardey, as Julius Caesar, convulsed the house with his oddities, and the whole play passed off most successfully.¹²

Evidently the concluding parts of this program were designed to satisfy those who could not appreciate the elevated tragedy of Shakespeare, or at least wanted to leave the theater in a jolly mood. "The attendance was estimated at six hundred. The actors in the case comprised persons who had previously played with both Langrishe and another manager, named Harrison, in Central City theatres."¹³

Othello was given by the same company on November 5 and December 4; *Richard III* was repeated on November 30; *The Merchant of Venice* was given on December 21 and *Macbeth*, on December 28.¹⁴

Other productions of Shakespearian drama in Denver during the next few years include the following: December 12, 1862, Peoples Theatre, *Readings from Hamlet*, given by Langrishe and Dougherty Company, with T. M. Tyrrell as Hamlet, Mrs. Langrishe as Gertrude, and Carrie Lyne as Ophelia; May 9, 1863, Peoples Theatre, *Richard III*; and May 15, *Othello*, the Irwin Company, with T. A. Lyne as Othello, T. M. Tyrrell as Iago, Maria Irwin as Desdemona, and Mlle Hernandez as Emilia. On May 18, *Richard III* was repeated, and on May 23, the same company gave *Romeo and Juliet*. The Langrishe and Dougherty Company gave a series of Shakespearian plays during the following

¹² Schoberlin, pp. 72-73.

¹³ An undated newspaper clipping in *Dawson Scrapbooks*, Library of the State Historical Society of Colorado.

¹⁴ Dean G. Nichols, *Pioneer Theatre of Denver, Colorado*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1948, "Chronological List of Plays."

season in the Denver Theatre: October 12 and 13, 1863, *Hamlet*, with George Pauncefort in the lead; October 18, 1863, and January 4 and 13, *Othello*, with Henry Richmond as Othello, George Pauncefort as Iago, Mrs. Carter as Desdemona, and Mrs. Langrishe as Emilia, J. S. Langrishe as Cassio, and M. J. Dougherty as Roderigo. The inevitable *Richard III* was included on January 2. On May 2, 1864, Pauncefort and Bell Company gave *Antony and Cleopatra*, in the Peoples Theatre. As was noted earlier Mr. Pauncefort appeared in *Hamlet* in Salt Lake City the following December 24. This list of pioneer productions in Denver may well close with the notice that on December 8, 1864, Madame Hernandez's Juvenile Actors presented, in the Peoples Theatre, "Scenes from *Romeo and Juliet*; Ballet of L'Amour; Montie in the Pie and Montie in the Cannon's Mouth; and the Fairy Sylph."¹⁵

Dean G. Nichols, who carefully traced the history of Denver theatrical production from 1859 to 1880, summed up Shakespeare's part as follows:

The most popular playwright, in terms of the number of times his plays were presented, was Shakespeare. There were eighty-five productions of Shakespearean plays. Among these plays *Othello* ranked first with eighteen performances, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Richard III* shared this popularity with sixteen, fourteen, and twelve productions respectively. *Romeo and Juliet*, *Merchant of Venice*, and *Henry IV* were played each seven, five, and three times in the order named. The George Rignold production of *Henry V*, which had made such a hit at Booth's Theatre in New York early in 1874, finally arrived in Denver in 1878, and played for an entire week. Mrs. Scott-Siddons presented *As You Like It* in her repertoire of classics for its first showing in Denver in 1878. The following year Lawrence Barrett presented another Shakespearean play new to the city when he included *Julius Caesar* in his repertoire. C. W. Couldock, in 1871, appeared in the first and only presentation of *King Lear* during the pioneer period. . . .¹⁶

Many of the plays listed above were also given by the same actors in such Colorado mining camps as Central City, Nevada City, Georgetown, Parkville, Fairplay, Laurette, and—later—Golden City. For example, *Macbeth* was included by Langrishe and Dougherty among their productions in the Montana Theatre in Central City during the summer of 1863, and *Romeo and Juliet* in 1869. By the latter date, however, "the Montana was described as the old rheumatic theatre. A portrait that must have been meant for Shakespeare looked sadly up from its place near the saw-log that held the curtain down. When *Romeo and Juliet* was presented, the superb wardrobes seemed out of place amidst such poverty-stricken surroundings."¹⁷

But the isolated mining communities wanted to hear Shakespeare read and discussed even though they could not often see his plays performed. An old broadside in the Western History Collection of the Denver Public Library bears witness that Central City sought such an opportunity in September of 1869. It proudly announced that the Miners and Mechanics Institute of Gilpin

¹⁵ Nichols, "Chronological List."

¹⁶ Pp. 332-333.

¹⁷ Quoted from the *Daily Central City Register* by Lynn Perrigo, "The First Two Decades of Central City Theatricals," *Colorado Magazine*, XI, 4 (July, 1934), 141-153.

County, Colorado, had secured "Professor McCoy, Formerly Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in the National Law School of Ballston Spa, New York . . . now giving Lessons in Voice Culture . . . in the Vocal Culture Hall Crosby's Opera House, Chicago," to give a "Lecture, With Shakespearean and Scriptural Readings."

Since the railroad did not reach Denver until 1870, Black Hawk and Central City until 1872, and many other camps until still later, barnstorming in the Rockies had numerous obstacles and inconveniences connected with it; the wonder is that so many professional productions of Shakespeare were given in such raw and remote communities. The following account of a performance in 1878 in the then young town of Colorado Springs will illustrate the point:

In 1878 the hall for public amusements in Colorado Springs was a very small and inconvenient building on Huerfano street, approached by the narrowest of stairways. Handbills were posted over the city, giving in addition to a gorgeous lithograph of Harfleur, the information that on the 29th and 30th of May, 1878, George Rignold and his company would perform *Henry V*, in the Colorado Springs town hall, with the original scenery. As *Henry V* was the spectacular drama of the time, and as the scenes were fitted to Booth's theater, New York, it seemed doubtful if it could be performed upon a stage somewhat larger than a pocket handkerchief, where the ceiling was about twelve feet high. In the course of the day, the "Grand Opera House Company" was seen wandering through the streets, and was heard to demand of a ranchman (who had probably not been within the city limits for months before): "Can you tell us where your Opera House is?"

A good play was a rare pleasure in those days, and the hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. Eight o'clock (the hour announced) came—half-past eight—quarter to nine. It was then stated that the dressing room was so small that only one character at a time could make a toilet. Forty speaking characters were advertised on the programmes. Eventually the curtain rose, disclosing a very small part of one large scene; the "forty speaking characters" ranged at the sides behind inadequate calico curtains, and deluding themselves like the ostrich, with the fallacy that they were invisible. The "famous white horse Crispin" was there, too, though it was never known how he ascended the stairs, and objecting to his confined quarters, he pawed and fretted, sending the company scurrying in affright to the center of the stage, regardless of dramatic unities. When Crispin appeared on the scene, his tail touched the back of the stage, and his forefeet were firmly planted among the footlights. The climax was reached when King Henry, animating his dispirited troupes with hot, impassioned words, waved above his head the royal standard. The spear head on the staff became implanted in the low ceiling, and could not be disentangled. Rignold stopped, completely overcome, saying: "This is really too ridiculous, ladies and gentlemen. You must be content simply with the beautiful words of Shakespeare, for I've nothing more to offer you." An under current of mirth ran through actors and audience, which sometimes broke out into open laughter. "Begone!" the king said sternly to the herald Montjoy,—and then *sotto voce*, "*But I don't know where the devil you'll go to.*"¹⁸

¹⁸ "El Paso County," by Gilbert McClurg and others of Colorado Springs, in Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago, 1891), III, 352-353.

IV

The next great period of Colorado theatrical history extended from the opening of the new Central City Opera House in 1878, the Tabor Opera House in Leadville in 1879, and the Tabor Grand Opera House in Denver in 1881, down to the turn of the century.¹⁹ Most of the dramatic fare was provided by famous traveling troupes. In most respects the same conditions prevailed in other Rocky Mountain theatrical centers, such as Salt Lake City, as existed in Denver. The situation is summarized as follows by William Campton Bell, in his dissertation, *A History of the Denver Theatre during the Post-Pioneer Period (1881-1901)*:

As the pioneer period (1859-1881) in the theatrical history of Denver might be referred to as the "stock company era," so the post-pioneer period (1881-1901) might be characterized as the "touring company era." During the first period the major portion of local theatrical entertainment was furnished by resident stock companies whose offerings ranged from Shakespeare's plays to the most lurid melodramas and cheapest comedies.

With the construction of an adequate playhouse in 1881, the stock company system disappeared and was successfully revived in the Nineties only by the summer theatres. Supplemented by the touring companies sent out from New York and Chicago, it waned in popularity as the expansion of the railroads made transportation problems less difficult. On the other hand, the local stage fell increasingly under the control of the New York managers. The growth of the "Theatrical Trust" during the Nineties and the adherence of all the local theatres to the syndicate by 1901 completed the domination.²⁰

Under the management of Peter McCourt, Tabor's brother-in-law, "Tabor's Silver Circuit" was organized to promote the booking of the same traveling companies and plays during a given season in several of the following cities: Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Canon City, Trinidad, Salida, Leadville, Aspen, Provo, Salt Lake, Ogden, Park City, Grand Junction, Glenwood Springs, Cheyenne, Rawlins, and Rock Springs. By 1880 railroad extensions, numerous opera houses, and good hotels made barnstorming over this circuit easy and comfortable when contrasted to conditions on the "Golden Circuit" of the sixties.²¹

V

One amusing feature of Denver's dramatic history is usually recalled in connection with the opening years of the Tabor Grand Opera House of Denver—the pranks played upon visiting actors and actresses by Eugene Field, then helping to edit the *Denver Tribune*. Gene, as his friends called him, criticized the theater with the same prankish and unpredictable manner that characterized all of his activities. Even Shakespearean performances were not immune. A contemporary associate later reported the following example:

¹⁹ Dorothy M. Degitz, "History of the Tabor Opera House in Leadville," *The Colorado Magazine*, XIII, 3 (May, 1936), 81-89.

²⁰ Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois, 1941), pp. 243-247.

²¹ Edgar C. McMechen, "Art, Drama, Music," in LeRoy R. Hafen, *Colorado and Its People* (New York, 1948), II, 450.

When Rev. Geo. W. Miln abandoned the pulpit for the stage, and was announced to appear at the Tabor Opera House in the title role of Hamlet, Field was appealed to by friends of the preacher-player for fair treatment at the hands of the dramatic critic of the paper, who happened to be himself. At that time the Tribune was saying unpleasant things about every attraction at the Opera House, there having been a misunderstanding of some sort between the management of the paper and that of the theater. Field made satisfactory promises, and contented himself with a three-line paragraph about the event, after this highly irritating fashion:

"Rev. Geo. W. Miln played Hamlet at the Opera House last night. He played it until eleven o'clock."²²

Typical of Field's journalistic hoaxes is the following one he devised in Denver:

After Modjeska's performance of *Romeo and Juliet* in June, 1883, he wrote a tale to the effect that some one had tried to poison her by actually filling the suicide phial with phosphorous. Fake interviews with every member of the cast, excepting Modjeska, Benzenta and Barrymore, who were described as being in bed when the reporters arrived, were printed in an effort to explain the conspiracy. New disclosures blazed from every edition of the *Tribune*.²³

After an especially boring experience, Field wrote of one of the actors in *Hamlet*: "He played the king as if he feared someone was going to play the ace."

VI

Performances of Shakespeare's plays in the Rocky Mountain West during the twentieth century have been numerous but under many different auspices, more frequently those of educational and cultural organizations rather than of commercial producers. Motion pictures took over most of the old theaters, such as the Tabor Grand Opera House and the Broadway Theatre in Denver. But touring companies giving Shakespeare usually scheduled performances along the route from Chicago or St. Louis to California even if they had to appear in public auditoriums or temporarily released movie palaces. Noteworthy were the companies organized in 1916 in England and in America to perform Shakespeare's great plays in connection with the Tercentenary. The enthusiasm thus generated carried the plays through the West and, also, well into the succeeding years.

Somewhat earlier, a significant development in Denver's dramatic history was the establishment of a theater in Elitch's Gardens, still a popular amusement park, with the oldest continuous summer stock company in existence. During the first decade of the new century, especially, Shakespeare's works were frequently performed there and enthusiastically received.²⁴

Nationally famous are the summer productions of the Central City Opera House Association. In the old stone building, erected in 1878 in this once

²² Carlyle Channing Davis, *Olden Times in Colorado* (Los Angeles, 1916), pp. 390-395.

²³ William Campton Bell, p. 319.

²⁴ Cf. Diaries of Mary Elitch Long as quoted by Caroline Lawrence Dier, *The Lady of the Gardens: Mary Elitch Long* (Hollywood, California, 1932), pp. 66-82.

booming mining camp, operas and plays have been given by professional casts each year during July and August, except during World War II. The first play festival was in 1932, with Lillian Gish in *Camille*. In 1934 Walter Houston took the lead in *Othello*. In the summer of 1951, the operatic version of *Romeo and Juliet* was produced with great success.

Space does not permit the tracing of Shakespeare on the stages and in the classrooms of innumerable colleges and high schools throughout the Rocky Mountain West. The story would, no doubt, differ but little from that of any other section of the United States.

VII

Scholarly analysis of Shakespeare's works has taken some strange forms, as well as some profitable ones, in the area covered by this study. Since the West is supposed to be the home of individualism, it is not surprising to find original, perhaps naive, reactions expressed even in more recent times than those of Jim Bridger. The so-called "Sage of the Rockies," Chauncey Thomas of Denver, was one reader of Shakespeare who demonstrated such independent judgment. Some time before his death in September, 1941, at the age of sixty-nine, he deposited his personally annotated volume of the Clark and Wright edition of Shakespeare's plays (Chicago, 1890) in the Western History Collection of the Denver Public Library. Space does not permit quotation. Chauncey had, however, made many shrewd observations to his friends, both orally and in writing, on the merits and the limitations of Shakespeare's characters, poetry, and philosophy. He believed that *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* could be combined so as to constitute Shakespeare's greatest work. He even supplied in manuscript an original "missing act" for *Antony and Cleopatra*, depicting Cleopatra's scorn of Anthony upon his return to her after marrying Octavia.

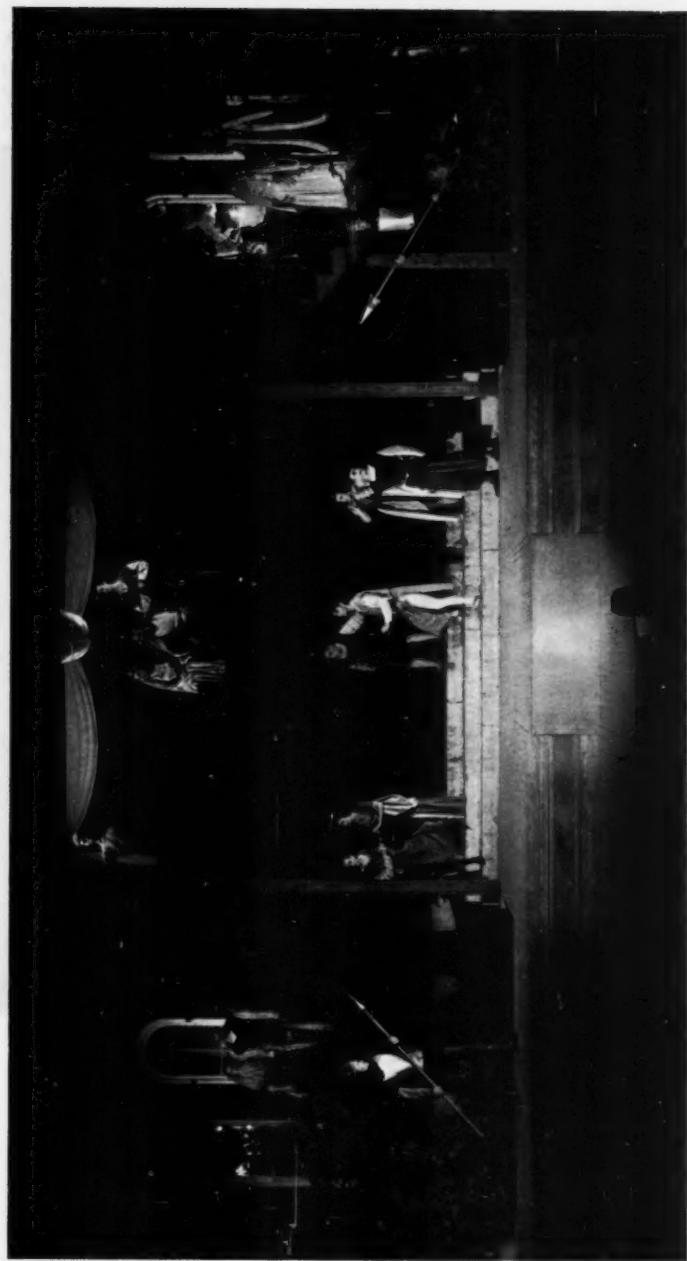
Deserving of less attention as critics or serious students of Shakespeare than even the "Sage of the Rockies" are the Baconians. They, too, appeared in the Rockies. Mrs. D. C. Dodge, a one-time teacher of English in East Denver High School, for example, published her findings in a pamphlet, *Shakespeare—Bacon*, Denver, Colorado, 1916.

The Baconians did not exist in Denver without opposition from proponents of other theories. A typescript entitled "The Oxford Theory of the Authorship of Shakespeare" was given to the University of Denver Library by its author, Elsie Green Holden, the year after Looney died. In it she championed Looney's theory, which she elaborated upon in a second typescript on "Shakespeare's Sonnets."

Perhaps the most widely known recent books by local scholars in this field are Alfred Van Rensselaer Westfall's *American Shakespearean Criticism*, 1607-1865, New York, 1939; George F. Reynolds' *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater*, New York, 1940; and B. Roland Lewis' *The Shakespeare Documents, Facsimiles, Transliterations, Translations, and Commentary*, Stanford University Press, 1941.

VIII

It is said that H. A. W. Tabor, the bonanza king, walked into his nearly completed Denver Grand Opera House one morning in early September, 1881,



Richard II I.iii. Antioch Area Theatre Shakespeare Festival, Summer, 1952 (Axel Bahnsen Studio)



Othello. The Opera House, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Season, 1952.

to find an artist putting up a gold-leaf medallion over the proscenium arch. After a moment Tabor called out, "Who's that tar feller you're paintin' up thar?" The surprised artist replied that it was William Shakespeare. "Willum Shakespeare?" roared Tabor. "Who's Willum Shakespeare, and what in hell did he ever do fer Colorado? Paint him out and put me up thar."²⁵

Probably Tabor knew more about Shakespeare than this anecdote indicates. Certainly he made it possible for Leadville and Denver audiences to see many famous performances of Shakespeare's plays, in comfortable theaters. It is hoped that the present study has answered at least in part Tabor's question about Shakespeare and Colorado, although it has merely hinted at Shakespeare's influence in the other Rocky Mountain States.

The University of Denver

²⁵ Quoted from Edgar Carlisle McMechen, "Literature and the Arts", in James H. Baker and LeRoy R. Hafen, *History of Colorado* (Denver, 1927), III, 1258.

Grace afore meate.
The lord be aboute/graunt vs to
take.

His gracypouse gyftes / with
thankes geuyng
And his gōspell not to forsake
which is our helthz life lastyng
Our father. 3c.

Grace after meate.
¶ Thankes to that lord that
all hath sent
for this our fode contentment
And for his worde / which is
our helth
And life of soule as scripture
tellyth. Our father which
art in heuen. 3c. Amen.

* A b c d e f g h i k l m n o p
q r s t u v w x y z 3c.

En. Amen.

A B C D E F G H I J K L
M N O P Q R S T U
V W X Y Z.

A B C D E F G H I J K L
M N O P Q R S T U
V W X Y Z.

* A a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p
q r s t u v w x y z & en Amen.
A B C D E F G H I K L M N
O P Q R S T V X.

In the name of the father &
son / & the holy ghōst. Amen.

The a b c

with the Pater noster
Aue / Credo / and 3c.
comsundemen-
tes in Ch-
ryste
newly translated and
set forth at the wyng-
most gracypouse com-
maunders
ment. 15 * 36

Printed at London in the
old tower by Richard Grafton

The seven pettitions of
the Pater noster.



Our father which
art in heuen / ha-
lowed be thy na-
me. Thy kyng-
dome come.

Thy wyll be done in erth / as
it is in heuen.

Give vs this daye our dayly
bred. And forgyue vs our
trespasses as we forgyue thy
that trespass agaynst vs.

And let vs not be led into tem-
ptacion. But delpyer vs from
euyll. Amen.

A Note on *Hamlet* I.v.33 and II.ii.181

FREDSON BOWERS



T I. v. 33 *Hamlet* Q₁ and Q₂ agree in the reading, "... then the fat weede | That rootes it selfe in ease on *Lethe* wharffe,"¹ whereas F₁ (so far as is known) reads "rots," a variant customarily adopted by earlier editors but one which has lately been losing favor. Editors favoring *rots* ignore the implications of the Q₁-Q₂ concurrence and avouch literary reasons for their preference, such as the beginning of Kittredge's note (*Five Plays*, p. 168):

The very existence of a slimy water-weed seems to be decay; it thrives in corruption and "rots itself" through its lazy stagnant life. Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, i, 4, 44-47:

This common body,
Like to a vagabond flag upon the stream,
Goes to and back, lackeying the varying tide,
To rot itself with motion.

Those who favor the retention of *roots*, like Parrott, point to the evidence of the two quartos and dismiss the *Antony and Cleopatra* lines as no true parallel, since motion is not indicated in the *Hamlet* image.²

There is some reason to believe that this crux should not be considered in isolation, however, for a similar variant somewhat later may have an intimate connection with the problem, a point which, I believe, has not previously been raised. At II. ii. 181 (Q₁ being absent), Q₂ and F₁ agree in the following:

For if the sunne breede maggots in a dead dogge, being a good kissing carrion. Haue you a daughter?

Warburton's emendation to "god kissing," which Dr. Johnson hailed as "a noble emendation, which almost sets the critic on a level with the author," is ordinarily adopted at the present day. Since both readings concern the possible confusion of double with single *o*—*roots-rots* and *good-god*—it would seem that they should be considered together, with some examination of the "bibliographical" implications involved.

Let us first look at *good kissing* versus *god kissing*. Either makes satisfactory

¹ The only variant is Q₁ which for Q₂ *That*.

² In fact, there is no certain indication in *Hamlet* that a water-plant is intended. The emphasis is on a plant of forgetfulness. If *wharf* means bank, the reference may be to the asphodel or else the poppy, either of which, classically, grew on the bank of *Lethe*. If there seems difficulty in associating either of these with a *fat weed*, then presumably we could take *wharf* literally, in which case a water-plant is indicated. But poppies grow like weeds in fields. It is possible that the *Antony and Cleopatra* lines are no parallel at all.

sense. If *good kissing* is the reading, a dead dog is a good kissing carrion for the sun since it breeds maggots faster than other offal;³ Ophelia, by transference, would also be a good kissing carrion to breed children. If the reading is *god kissing* (*kissing* now a participle and not used adjectivally), then if a being so powerful, remote, and pure as a god can promote corruption in a dead dog by his kisses, the odds are that a mortal (and a prince) will the more easily produce the same effect in Ophelia.

In general it may be said that concurrence of Q₂ and F₁ should strongly support any reading that makes tolerable sense. This is one of the several logical bases for textual criticism in *Hamlet*, and it should always act as a powerful check on over-ingenious and idle guesswork in emendation. By this criterion, *good kissing* must be right. Nevertheless, although the virtues of the principle are great, it shares the occasional deficiencies inherent in any purely mechanical method; and if we confine ourselves only to syllogistic reasoning on this flat plane, we shall sometimes miss the recovery of true Shakespearian readings. Hence we had better examine the case more narrowly in an endeavor to give extra dimensions to the inquiry. If we take it with Dover Wilson (and I am bound to say his case seems to me convincing even though I often differ in the interpretation of his evidence) that Q₂ was set from Shakespeare's "foul papers" and F₁ from a transcript of the official promptbook, itself a scribal transcript from these foul papers, there are only two alternate possibilities to explain how *good* could have arisen in both texts as an error for *god*: (1) A slip of the pen by Shakespeare himself so that *good* actually stood in his autograph although he had intended to write *god*: (2) autograph *god* was written in the foul papers in such a way that it was independently misread as *good* both by the scribe who copied these papers to make up the promptbook and also by the Q₂ compositor.⁴

If we assume the first, we must recognize that we are second-guessing with a vengeance. It could have happened in theory, of course, but no demonstration is possible; moreover, if I am correct in my argument that the *roots-rots* variant is pertinent, we should need to discard this all too convenient theory. The second hypothesis, involving double error in misreading the autograph, is not impossible; and indeed I should be inclined to argue that just such a double misreading took place at I. iii. 130, where I take it with most editors that "bauds" (*bawds*) is the Shakespeare word rather than "bonds" printed by both Q₂ and F₁ (Q₁ being absent). It should be remarked, however, that in this latter case the orthographic confusion is much more readily explicable in terms of a Secretary hand than is *good* in error for *god*. I do not pretend to be a palaeographical expert, but I should think that the reverse reading, *god* for original *good*, would

³ I do not take it, as has been suggested, that it is the dead dog which does the kissing: such an interpretation would seem to take the sharp edge off Hamlet's implication.

⁴ A variant on the second proposition is possible. Some critics, like Dover Wilson, are inclined to apply handwriting evidence too literally and to speculate that the formation of the letters must have been thus and thus so that even with reasonable care and scrutiny by the transcriber, the letters would be mechanically misread as forming a different word. This omits the fact that often all a compositor needs to create an error is some small hint that leads him to jump hastily to a wrong conclusion about the nature of the word, even though all the letters could not possibly coincide with what he thinks the word to be. Moreover, context acts as a powerful incentive to misreading. Thus the fact that, syntactically, *being* modifies *dog* more nearly than *sun*, would possibly serve as an encouragement to misread any handwriting ambiguity which in itself might not have been so serious as to create error in other context.

be easier to explain, as in Q2 I. iii. 48, "step" press-corrected to "steep." This latter may perhaps be a mechanical error, a slip of the fingers on the part of the compositor, of course, but mechanical error cannot be utilized to explain *good* from *god*, since mechanical error (not memorial error) ordinarily consists in the inadvertent omission of a necessary letter, not the addition of a superfluous one.

Let us agree, however, that orthographic double error perhaps assisted by context—if *god* is correct—is preferable to a slip of the pen by Shakespeare. If so, we might reasonably expect *god* to be written in such a way that the forepart of the *d* could readily be mistaken for a double *oo*, and this misconception having been established, that the ascender or loop of the *d* was misread as the whole letter.⁵

We may now turn to the *roots-rots* variant. If *rots* is correct, the error could have arisen in Q1 and Q2, and the correct reading in F1, only by one of the two following processes: (1) *rots* stood in all manuscripts; therefore *rootes* was a memorial error in Q1 on the part of the reporter or compositor, and the error was taken over into Q2 as a part of the contamination of the text from Q1 in the first act; (2) *rots* stood in the autograph foul papers but was misread as *roots* (like *god-good*) by the promptbook scribe (whence Q1 derived it) and also by the Q2 compositor;⁶ however, the reading was corrected in the promptbook before the transcript was made for F1.

The first hypothesis, memorial corruption in Q1 and subsequent contamination of Q2, is possible, since the case seems to be established that in some as yet unknown way there has been a slight influence of Q1 on Q2 in the early scenes. However, one must point out that the precise circumstances and—more important—the precise extent of this contamination are as yet far from certain; and if we hold this theory we are committed not to one hypothesis but to two, for we must first assume Q1 corruption and then Q1 contamination of Q2 in this particular reading, not just in general.

The second hypothesis is even more complex. Its basis (if contamination is absent) is the conjecture that the same double *oo* confusion arose through two independent mistranscriptions, again by the Q2 compositor and Scribe P (the copier of the foul papers who made up the promptbook). In this case, however, F1 reads *rots*; and hence we should need to conjecture further that at some time subsequent to the copying of the prompt and of the players' parts (whence the Q1 reporter memorially derived it), the error *roots* was detected in the promptbook and altered, although the similar *good* was overlooked, as were various other errors. The word *roots* could have been changed to *rots* by one of four agents: Shakespeare himself, the book-keeper, Scribe C (who copied the prompt for F1), or the F1 compositor. The first two agents are in effect the same, if the

⁵ Parenthetically, one may remark that if Hand D in *Sir Thomas More* is indeed Shakespeare's, there would seem to be little chance of this double error occurring. This hand, it is true, forms a *d* detached from the *o* in *god* and therefore in some places slightly susceptible to misreading if the transcription of the writing were of the hastiest and the context firmly misconceived, but the word *god* is actually so clear in this hand that double error would be most dubious.

⁶ In fact, there is a variant here since contamination from Q1 instead of (or supporting) misreading by the Q2 compositor is a possibility. However, in such a case the conditions in the first hypothesis are substantially reproduced and the arguments applicable to it would be transferred to this second possibility. I shall, therefore, proceed as if the two hypotheses were completely distinct.

reading is to have any authority, for either Shakespeare would himself make the change or else instruct the book-keeper to do so.⁷ If this change, then, were made by Shakespeare, it follows that the alteration could not have been written in until the play had been in production for some time, since the reporter of Q1 did not know it and derived *roots* from his memory of what he had heard on the stage. Moreover, if Shakespeare in this case troubled himself to make a correction in the promptbook, we should expect other variants of F1 from Q2 (and perhaps from Q1 if present) to conform to this pattern of a time lag. Certain variants have been advanced as falling in this category,⁸ such as F1 *cast* for *cost* at I. i. 73. It is not impossible, of course, that Shakespeare did look over the book, although it is odd that he delayed so long that these errors were perpetuated on the stage for a considerable period. Moreover, it is odd that at the same time he did not make some literary revisions in the text as well as corrections of errors (various of which he missed), but the F1 variants do not necessarily suggest such revision as distinct from correction, at least at this later point in the history of the text which is now in question.⁹

If for any reason we do not incline to the theory that Shakespeare himself corrected the book sporadically at some late date, then we must consider the possibility that the alteration was due to Scribe C. If it was he, and if the reading is to have any Shakespearian authority, we must then further assume that this scribe was an actor or some person about the theater familiar with the play and that he recognized the error in his copy from his memory of the lines he had heard on the stage. This would imply our believing that the scribe was indeed some man of the theater (although I believe Wilson's case for this theory to be very insubstantial), that the error though correctly read on the stage after an interval had not been altered in prompt, and finally that the actor-scribe had such an intimate knowledge of the play that he could distinguish a very minor error and correct it. Such a conjecture involves so many fortuitously interlocking elements as to be unconvincing except as a desperate last resort. Finally, if the F1 compositor made the reading *rots*, though *roots* stood in his copy, we must assume that *rots* was a mechanical error in F.

Of the two hypotheses, the first—for memorial corruption in Q1 and subse-

⁷ Any theory that the book-keeper independently made literary revisions in the prompt would be mere fancy; moreover, such alterations would have no authority. I should not myself care to argue that Shakespeare orally instructed the Ghost to speak *rots* and that the book-keeper hearing this variant spoken on the stage rushed to alter his prompt. It is amusing to recall the tradition that Shakespeare himself played the Ghost. Though speculation here is idle, if so, it would be odd that the Q1 reporter heard *roots*, for the difference in vowels was well established by Shakespeare's day.

⁸ Not, however, I believe, with full appreciation of the lapse in time necessitated by the implications of Q1-Q2 agreement against F1 in connection with a revision theory. On the other hand, if laggard revision is rejected, such Q1-Q2 errors against correct F1 must be assigned to one of three agencies: (1) contamination of Q2 by Q1; (2) completely distinct and fortuitous misreadings of two different hands by the Q1 and Q2 compositors; (3) a lucky though unauthoritative correction by Scribe C or the F1 compositor. Possibly we should add a fourth: fortuitous identical memorial failure by the reporter or the Q1-Q2 compositors in different combinations. It should be understood, of course, that all such variants need not be confined to any single one of the above categories: any one could operate separately for a given reading.

⁹ There is a scattering of variants beyond correction in which Q1 and F1 agree substantially against Q2. These must be assigned either to Shakespeare's revision of the book or to independent activity on the part of Scribe P, but they differ from the category under discussion since they must have been made before the play was acted.

quent contamination of the Q2 text—is much the simpler. Against too ready an acceptance, however, is the fact that we are most uncertain about the extent of this contamination (and have perhaps overestimated it) and also the fact that the Q2 compositor in the preceding word *That* (F1 agreeing) was not affected by Q1 *which*.¹⁰ Moreover, if my contention is correct that there is a causal connection with the debated reading at II. ii. 181, dissimilar hypotheses have been chosen to explain similarity of error.

Similarity of hypothesis requires us to assume independent mistranscription of single *o* as double *oo* through orthographic confusion. Here we may arrive at a difficulty, for supporting evidence in the play is not overly clear as indicating this possibility. At first sight IV. v. 41, it is true, seems to confirm the double *oo* confusion. Here Q1 reads "God yeeld you", Q2 "good dild you", and F1 "God dil'd you". But since Ophelia is here, and elsewhere in her mad speeches, using country vulgarisms, and since "good" in this mild oath is an acknowledged variant for "God," it is possible that "good" stood in the foul papers and that "God" is a Q1 and F1 sophistication, which may be independent (cf. *yield* as sophistication in Q1) or go back to a common source in Scribe P. On the other hand, if "God" or "god" in fact stood in the foul papers, memorial error concerning the form of a common oath by the Q2 compositor is as possible as true orthographic misreading. The evidence here, such as it is, is far too uncertain to warrant placing any weight on it. Finally, for V. ii. 355, Q2 "O god *Horatio*" (Q1 "O fie"), F1 reads "Oh good *Horatio*." This is not a true analogy, however, for the Q1 reading shows that *god* must have stood in the manuscript. Hence F1 *good* may with some confidence be conjectured as a calculated removal of profanity, frequent in F1 texts, or else, though rather less likely, as an inadvertent corruption by Scribe C or the F1 compositor.

Since any clearcut supporting evidence is wanting in the play, the case for orthographic confusion must be scrutinized more carefully. Here we may immediately come upon a further difficulty. The easiest way to explain double mistranscription is by conjecturing a letter formation in which part of the letter *d* becomes confused as the second letter *o*. While theoretically possible in the *-od* combination, this explanation will not hold for *-ot* in *rots-roots*, and we must attempt to visualize some pure form of the single *o* which was so close in appearance to the double *oo* as to be mistaken by two independent transcribers. Although it is possible to imagine *go d* written with a detached *d* and a curl completing the *o* with such prominence as to be mistaken for a second letter, yet it is somewhat more doubtful whether *t* would be similarly detached in *ro ts* or, if so, whether this characteristic would be so ambiguous in such combinations as to lead to independent error in transcription. If there is this difficulty, logically we should be forced back to the more troublesome hypothesis for *god-good* that it was a slip of Shakespeare's pen, and for *rots-roots* that the Q2 reading must derive from Q1's memorial corruption, followed by contamination of Q2. Once again we have dissimilar hypotheses to explain similarity of error, a suspicious circumstance.

Faced with this impasse, a textual critic might well ask himself whether the

¹⁰ The worth of this small piece of evidence is completely dependent upon whatever hypothesis one may hold concerning the exact mechanics of the Q1 influence on Q2. This is a matter far too complex to discuss here, although I hope to survey it on another occasion.

price of emendation is not too high, and whether—since both Q2 readings make excellent sense—it is not in the end most logical (and probable) to adopt in both cases the Q2 text, our ultimate authority. Whatever the decision, it would seem that a critic should seriously consider the logical difficulties in emending one reading but not the other, and should follow either Q2 in *good-roots*, or Warburton and F1 in *god-rots*.

The University of Virginia

History Cycle at Antioch College

LOUIS MARDER



ENGLISH history as only Shakespeare could write it came to thrilling life last summer when the Antioch Area Theatre at Yellow Springs, Ohio, in conjunction with Antioch College, presented the complete cycle of history plays. For eight weeks the plays were presented in repertory form, but in the two final weeks of the ten-week season (July 1 to September 7) the great significance of the impressive cycle was revealed. In two Grand Repertoires, the eight plays—three parts of *Henry VI* had been fused into one play—were staged in chronological order in six evening and two matinee performances. Never in the United States, and only once in England under Frank Benson in 1906 at Stratford, had the plays been so presented; and Benson did only the two tetralogies, excluding *King John* and *Henry VIII*.

The cycle was conceived by Prof. Arthur Lithgow of Antioch College and carried out in conjunction with Profs. Meredith Dallas and Paul Treichler. Lithgow directed *King John*, I and II *Henry IV*, *Henry VI*, and *Richard III*, and Dallas the remaining plays, *Richard II*, *Henry V*, and *Henry VIII*. Both directors also assumed major roles in the plays. By working closely with each other, they achieved a notable unity of conception. The plays were presented not only as individual dramas but also as a historical sequence reflecting what was apparently Shakespeare's intention. Through contrast of rise and fall, usurpation and retribution, divine right and honest strength, we saw a continuity of life and monarchy that was above and beyond the death of the individual kings. And mixed with the machinations of the plotters, the verbal combats of rival factions, and the revealing soliloquies of ambition and despair, we were able to enjoy Shakespeare's broad humor, especially in the *Henry IV* and *Henry V* plays.

Another notable achievement of this cycle was the great impetus it gave to the movement toward Elizabethan staging. Spectators at the Shakespeare Festival saw an outdoor stage which was constructed over the steps of the hundred-year-old ivy-clad Main Building of Antioch College. Not by imitation, but by similarity of purpose, do we find it similar to Tanya Moiseiwitsch's design for productions of the Lancastrian tetralogy at Stratford last year. (Cf. illustration in *SQ* II, 345.) Although the principle of alternation could have been better applied in some instances by a more judicious use of the inner and upper stages and better control of entrances, the principle was understood and used, and it is that which created the tempo and movement characteristic of Elizabethan staging.

Except for a decorated scrim in the upper stage in *Henry VIII*, occasional use of a curtain over the inner and upper stage, and the usual throne, chairs, and tables, no scenery was used, nor were the productions any the worse for it. Our chief recollection of Olivier's *Antony and Cleopatra* is of the set; here our only recollection is of the play. Shakespeare gains a great deal in significance from such performances, and for producers to declare that audiences want spectacle is to say that the performances at Antioch and also those of Angus L. Bowmer at Ashland, Oregon, are failures, which they decidedly are not. An audience of over 13,000 from the local area and from many states saw this first cycle of plays, and thousands more may be expected to come as the Festival gains recognition.

Stage designer Budd Steinhilber also fashioned a basic tunic-and-tights costume which by shortening, tucking, lengthening, and draping of the tunic provided an effective, colorful, and economical garb for many of the male members of the cast. Necessary deviations were made within budgetary limitations which did not permit the use of enough armor for the battle scenes; but make-up assisted in the dramatic illusion, and an appreciative audience did not refuse to piece out the imperfection with their thoughts.

The acting itself was most effective in the major roles, where professionals served, and sometimes less so in the minor roles, where less experienced actors performed. However, when one considers the fact that the cast was acting one play, rehearsing another, while memorizing the lines for still a third for seven of the ten weeks of the season, the monumental scope and difficulties of the season from the actors' and directors' viewpoint becomes apparent.

But the season was monumental in other ways. Although the cycle had been performed before at Gilmor Brown's Pasadena Playhouse in California in 1935, and almost completely in 1935-36 over Station WJZ, the Grand Repertoires here were the first presentation of the cycle in successive performances ever given any where in the world. We have seen that on a budget of about \$300 a play, Shakespeare could be done in the Elizabethan manner, and that audiences accustomed to other fare would take to Shakespeare—even without the benefit of spectacular sets. Seeing some of the seldom acted plays come to life proved that all of Shakespeare is dynamic when presented on the stage—especially on the type of stage for which the plays were created.

Plans for future Festivals include productions of the problem plays as well as a repetition of this wonderful pageant of English history.

Brooklyn College

Shakespeare at the Brattle Theatre

EDWIN HAVILAND MILLER



THE Brattle Theatre of Cambridge, Massachusetts, which has presented an impressive series of Shakespearian productions during the past few years, performed *A Midsummer's Night's Dream* and *Macbeth* during its 1951-1952 season. Recently this repertory company has attempted novel approaches in its productions. A year ago *Love's Labor's Lost* was presented in a pompous late Victorian setting, which, because of its emphasis upon ridiculing the mannerisms and accoutrements of that era, distracted the audience's attention from Shakespeare's clever satire. For *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*, the director utilized a highly ornate, neo-classical eighteenth-century setting. Titania and Oberon, lavishly garbed in costumes in which blue and black predominated, entered in elaborate chariots from a super-sophisticated fairy world. Puck became an eighteenth-century Mercury, with winged sandals and neo-classic dress; the only trace of the conventional Puck was the peaked ears. The royal party—the princesses with parasols and high heels, in yellow and white attire—went through their peregrinations and amorous complications in a forest setting which had neo-classic doorways on either side and a spectacularly elaborate chandelier in the center of the stage. The rustics, in their red costumes, strove desperately to be hilarious—but at the expense of the play. Bottom, chewing on a long cigar like one of the Marx brothers, was carted on stage in a wheelbarrow.

As one might imagine, too much emphasis was placed upon the elaborate decor, which overwhelmed the action and the poetry of the comedy. (The same criticism was justly made of the Olivia de Haviland *Romeo and Juliet*.) The ethereal quality of the fairy scenes disappeared, and one saw a Hollywood-like production, brilliant perhaps in its spectacle and glamor but hardly stimulating to the imagination. The pseudo-simplicity in the handling of the rustic scenes also destroyed the naive peasant humor. Indeed, in productions more amateurish than this one, but redeemed by a child-like participation in the illusions demanded by the play, the comedy has been vastly more amusing. The moral seems to be: directors should trust in Shakespeare's superb theatricality; and simplicity, both in staging and in acting, is generally preferable to ostentation and "precious" artificiality.

The production of *Macbeth*, which had in the performance of William Devlin, who played Lear brilliantly several seasons ago, as fine a Macbeth as I have ever seen, was also marred by the director's insertion of novel stage business. For example, the witches, who resembled charwomen more than spirits,

entered Macbeth's castle before King Duncan arrived. Later they dragged in the drunken porter and played "knock, knock" with him. Possibly to clarify the action, Banquo's ghost appeared in the flesh—as one of the witches with a mask kept appearing and disappearing through a trap door! Then, in Act IV, when Macbeth came to their cave, the witches dropped imitation mice, bats, etc., into the cauldron. Needless to say, since the scene was brilliantly illuminated, the audience tittered. Then, in their prognostications of future English history, the spirits waved masks on long sticks to symbolize the various heroes referred to. Here we have an excellent illustration of the errors of an excessive realism, or literalness, in producing Shakespeare. For by not granting to the audience any powers of imagination, the director almost made this tragedy into a slap-stick comedy.

Since the performances of Devlin and Thayer David, who made Duncan into a senile, human figure endowed with genuine goodness in contrast with the vaulting ambition of Macbeth, were excellent, the director's "improvements" were doubly unfortunate. But, as is the case with most Shakespearian performances, it is always interesting to observe the treatments to which these plays can be subjected. The fact that the plays survive as living theater is perhaps one of the greatest testimonies to Shakespeare's genius.

POSTSCRIPT: The Brattle Theatre has evidently suffered the fate of most repertory companies—financial woes. At the present writing the organization has been unable to raise the necessary funds to continue operations. Although it is obviously unkind to say so, it is apparent that the extravagance and the ostentatiousness referred to above were in part responsible for these economic burdens. When the company began, sets and costumes were simple and unpretentious. As it became more "professional," all this was changed, for the company presumably desired to ape the elaborate (and financially unsuccessful) Broadway Shakespearian productions. In an age of the "super-stupendous," is it absurd, artistically and financially, to recommend that repertory companies concentrate on the plays and leave extravaganzas to television and to Hollywood musicals?

Simmons College

Current Theater Notes

The second list of Shakespeare performances by professional, community, and college theaters in this country and abroad is more extensive than last year's, thanks to many kind contributors. It is hoped that the coverage will be increasingly full in the future. Correspondents should address Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, 61 Broadway, New York City. Information for the list has been gathered from news reports, from letters, and from cards of inquiry—answers to the last have sometimes included unusual notes on staging. For less familiar productions these are given in the report, in the belief that they may be of interest. Productions which have received publicity from many other sources are assumed to be well known and are briefly recorded.

At a glance, certain facts are obvious. England is still the only country with Shakespeare repertory companies, the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon and the Old Vic in London, both great centers of training and both immensely popular sources of entertainment. The value of such companies is appreciated here, where the desire is keen and the plan advanced for a Shakespeare repertory theater. In Australia, as well, the hope is expressed that out of the lengthy and well-received John Alden tour, a company will be founded, so that, as John Alden writes, an Australian artist wishing to gain experience will no longer have to journey thirteen thousand miles to gain it.

One of the most significant developments in the Old Vic and Stratford companies during the last few years has been the increasing importance accorded to their elaborately mounted travelling productions. This year the Old Vic's *King Lear* opened in Brussels, and was thereafter taken through the low countries and Scandinavia before coming to London in March. In May the Old Vic's extensive tour of South Africa began, the repertory consisting of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth* (a first performance in that country). The result of this tour has been reported as impressive. Even in the smallest towns, audiences were found to be familiar with Shakespeare and enthusiastically receptive. The emphasis on tours is to an even greater extent influencing the policies of the Stratford company, changing indeed its whole structure, for two companies are now being formed, one to play the eight-month Stratford season, the other to travel—a Pacific tour scheduled for 1953, and one to America and Canada in 1954.

Shakespeare tours spring ideally from a repertory theater, but there are other tours abroad to be noted, Eric Elliott's tour to India, Pakistan, and Ceylon of *Hamlet*, *Merchant of Venice*, and *Othello*, the European trip of the Barrault *Hamlet*, and the Grenier de Toulouse tour of *The Taming of the Shrew* through France, North Africa, and Switzerland. *Twelfth Night* was taken by the Oxford University Dramatic Society on a brief tour of French universities, and the same play was taken from this country by a company made up of graduates from Catholic University, Washington, D. C., Players Incorporated,

a group that for two years has been travelling with a repertory of classic plays throughout the United States. This tour was made under the auspices of the Army, and performances were given in Japan and Korea for the Armed Forces with marked success.

In reports from England, one expects and one finds general activity in Shakespeare. Every year brings forth several independent and outstanding productions in London such as the Gielgud *Much Ado about Nothing*, which broke all records for the number of performances given of this play. There are also to be counted upon, several fine companies which emphasize Shakespeare in their repertories, such as the Birmingham Theatre and the Maddermarket Theatre, the latter in Norwich, continuing its more than forty years of remarkable dramatic achievement under Nugent Monck. There are also certain productions which have become pleasant annual traditions: Robert Atkins' plays given in Regent's Park, the plays given at the Bath Assembly and in the Canterbury Festival. Many Festival productions and those in Little theaters, university theaters, and Shakespeare clubs are of high quality.

Several variations in the style of production have been notable: the Nottingham Theatre Trust Jacobean *Macbeth*, the Morley College and Group Theatre Edwardian *Comedy of Errors*, the Crescent Theatre *Taming of the Shrew* in modern dress. As well, there have been a number of unusual interpretations of character: the concept of Coriolanus as an extremely young man at the Bath Festival, and the presentation of *Julius Caesar* as Brutus' play by the First Folio Theatre.

Interesting experiments have continued at the Mermaid Theatre in London, where the effort is made to recreate, as far as possible, an Elizabethan performance. The plays are given on an Elizabethan stage, the speeches delivered in Elizabethan accents, and the acting modelled on Elizabethan gestures. The Arts Theatre in Cambridge, earlier this year, essayed such a production of *Julius Caesar*. A more distant version of Elizabethan technique was a presentation of *The Taming of the Shrew* in Israel, directed by the Mermaid Theatre's Julius Gellner. According to reports, the audience was not surprised, bewildered, nor unappreciative.

In the United States the evidence is clear of great interest in Shakespeare plays, and though at present it is an interest less easy to indulge than in England as far as professional and community theaters go, these organizations show increasing activity and promise. Our strength, however, lies in another direction, in the academic theater. For a long time the annual Shakespeare play has been a familiar college tradition, but during the last few years, in many places, this isolated performance has developed into something more significant, the production coming to be undertaken as an examination of playwriting technique, considered and related to the general study of Shakespeare. At St. John's, where the curriculum is based upon the knowledge of great books, the staging of *King John* was the result of weeks of "running seminars," reading and discussion of Shakespeare's works, the production itself treated as an integral part of the college program. Correlation of this kind is reported from many other colleges where a play is said to represent part of an examination of Shakespeare, a combining of literature and dramatic production. This pre-

occupation is reflected by a growing interest in textual study as evidenced by the uncut *Richard II* at Syracuse University, the uncut *Merry Wives of Windsor* at the University of Colorado, and the Kittredge text of *Othello* given by Bryn Mawr and Haverford Colleges. It is also reflected by experiments in Elizabethan staging, the University of Texas *Henry IV*, Parts 1 and 2, the Dartmouth College *Merchant of Venice*, Kenyon College *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the University of Georgia *Twelfth Night*. Another manifestation is the increasing popularity of college Festivals of Shakespeare, the word Festival in this country coming to mean something different from the traditional occasion on which a play or plays are given *per se* to celebrate a specific event. The annual Festivals at Miami University and Hofstra College include not only dramatic presentations but also meetings of Shakespeare scholars, panel discussions, lectures, exhibits, and concerts. In summer Festivals at academic centers as well, production is related to a larger study, the theaters are considered Shakespeare workshops by the groups at San Diego State College, the University of Denver, and at Antioch College where the ambitious cycle of chronicle plays was this year presented. The outstanding Oregon Festival, which has been in operation since 1935, is a civic, non-profit organization, and though it has no official college or university connections, it has since the beginning maintained a close and voluntary association for study with Southern Oregon College.

Though the academic relation to Shakespeare is typical of many productions in this country, it is not limited to it, as evidenced by Trinity College, Toronto, where, since 1949, a program has been carried out on much the same lines as the Festivals here. This college has, to date, the one Canadian Shakespeare company and the only Festival in the Dominion. This claim, however, may not hold in 1953, for plans are now being seriously discussed for a Shakespeare Festival next summer at Stratford, Ontario. To return to the point of related study and production, it is interesting to observe that two courses in Shakespeare, arranged by the British Council in conjunction with Birmingham University, were given this summer at Stratford in England. The courses were attended by teachers and students from many countries. There were also, during the season, lectures at the Shakespeare Institute, given by eminent scholars, and open to the public.

Outside the bounds of the list which follows there are several Shakespeare activities which bear noting: the readings of Margaret Webster, and the five months' tour of the British actress, Vivienne Bennett, who travelled from coast to coast in the United States, giving over fifty dramatic recitals devoted to a number of Shakespeare heroines. In New York the Equity Library Theatre deserves comment, an organization which produced "The Shakespeare Scrapbook," a program of selected scenes. These excerpts have travelled during the year to twenty-two schools and colleges in the New York area. Another production of scenes is also interesting, the competition of the London Federation of Boys' Clubs arranged by Robert Milton, in which school groups participated, boys ranging from fourteen to eighteen, many from the poorer quarters of London. This is an activity carried further by Mr. Milton in a national competition of boys' clubs. Perhaps a novel and far distant project

should be mentioned to conclude these brief observations; the first filming of a Shakespeare drama in the Philippines, a Renaissance production of *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare's first appearance in the Tagalog tongue.

All's Well that Ends Well

March 12, 13, 1952. The Halifax Thespians, Halifax, England.

June 20-22. Midsummer Playhouse, Glen Cove, Long Island. Elsie Kemp as Helena, Peter O'Sullivan as Bertram. Directed by Claire Grandjouan and Lolah Mary Eagan. Outdoor production, an Elizabethan stage.

July 16-August 2. One of the plays given in the fourth annual Shakespeare Festival and Summer Work Shop. San Diego State College and San Diego Community Theatre at the Old Globe Theatre, San Diego, California. Directed by B. Iden Payne.

Antony and Cleopatra

Opened December 19, 1951. The Ziegfeld Theatre, New York City. The Olivier production, played alternately with Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*. Laurence Olivier as Antony, Vivien Leigh as Cleopatra.

During the autumn season, 1952, which began August 28. The Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria. December 5-13. Speech and Drama Department, San Jose State College, California. Directed by Miss Loeffler.

As You Like It

December 1951. The Comédie Française Company, at the Salle du Luxembourg, Paris. Mony Dalmès as Rosalind, Jean Debucourt as Jaques. Directed by Jacques Charon. Adapted by Jules Supervielle.

1951-1952 season. National Theatre, Oslo, Norway.

February 6-9, 1952. The Southsea Actors, Southsea, England. Nancy Glenister as Rosalind, William E. M. Smith as Orlando, John Gardener as Jaques. Directed by K. Edmonds Gateley.

April 2-5. University of Utah, Community Theatre, Salt Lake City, Utah. C. Lowell Lees, director.

Opened April 29. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Margaret Leighton as Rosalind, Laurence Harvey as Orlando, Michael Hordern as Jaques. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw.

April 30-May 20. Cleveland Play House, Cleveland, Ohio. Directed by Kirk Willis. Annual Shakespeare Festival for High School students, week-day matinees.

May 29, for twelve weeks. The Bankside Players in the Open Air Theatre, Regent's Park, London. Directed by Robert Atkins. Mary Kerridge as Rosalind, Basil Hoskins as Orlando, David Powell as Jaques.

August 8-30. One of the plays given in the fourth annual Shakespeare Festival and Summer Work Shop, the Old Globe Theatre, San Diego, California. Directed by B. Iden Payne.

September 20-29. The Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich. Directed by Lionel Dunn.

1951-1952 season. Belgrade Dramatic Theatre, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

The Comedy of Errors

December 3-9, 1951. Columbia Theater Associates, Columbia University, Brander Mathews Hall, New York City. Steve Russell and Drew Elliot as Antipholus of Ephesus and of Syracuse, Milton Carney and George Ross as the Dromios. Directed by Milton Smith and Gertrude Keller. Single set, no curtain, continuous action.

Opened February 21, 1952. Thirty-three performances in six weeks at the Penthouse Theatre. Produced by the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. Patrick O'Brian and Robert Lindquist as Antipholus of Ephesus and of Syracuse, Gerald Jacobs and John Collard as the Dromios. Directed by Donal Harrington. An arena production.

February 28, March 8, 14, 20, 29, April 4, 16, and May 8. The Mercury Theatre, Sydney, Australia. Directed by Sydney John Kay.

From February to June, various performances. The Nottingham Theatre Club, in Regent Hall and the Nottingham Open Air Theatre, Nottingham, England. Alan Stabell and Donald Campbell as Antipholus of Ephesus and of Syracuse, Herbert Walton and John Miller as the Dromios. Directed by Hilda Wilson. Production given in the period 1870. Permanent set including four

locations. Continuous action with the exception of one interval. The play was presented in June at the British Drama League's annual conference at Harrogate.

April 19, 23, 25, 26. Morley College production, Southwark, London. Given in the yard of the George Inn, now a railway yard. Directed by Roy Walker. An Edwardian production.

July 21-26. The Group Theatre, at the Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury, England, for the Canterbury Festival. Donald Eccles and John Van Eyssen as Antipholus of Ephesus and of Syracuse, Jeremy Geidt and Richard Burrell as the Dromios. Directed by Rupert Doone and Roy Walker. By arrangement with the London Theatre Guild, a performance, at the Royal Court Theatre in London, August 27. An Edwardian production. Insertion of several silent characters for comic pantomime.

Coriolanus

Opened March 13, 1952, as part of the repertory of the Stratford Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Anthony Quayle as Coriolanus. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw.

April 2-5. The Southsea Actors, Southsea, England. K. Edmonds Gateley as Coriolanus. Directed by K. Edmonds Gateley.

May 26-31, given during the Bath Assembly, Bath, England. Esmond Rideout as Coriolanus. Directed by Glynne Wickman. Staged at the side of, and above the Great Roman Bath. Coriolanus represented as a juvenile lead rather than a leading man.

Cymbeline

December 7, 1951. Nationaltheatret, Oslo, Norway. Produced as an opera, music by Arne Eggen, new Norse translation by Henrik Rytter. Aase Nordmo Løvberg as Imogen, Bjarne Buntz as Posthumus, Oystein Frantzen as Iachimo. Directed by Knut Hergel. Cloten and the Queen were cut; "one scoundrel was enough," said the composer.

May 14-17. Yale Department of Drama, the Experimental Theatre, New Haven, Connecticut. Directed by Elizabeth Ann Garfield as part of her thesis requirement for M.F.A. degree.

July 1-26. Presented by the Bankside Players, at the Open Air Theatre, Regent's Park, London. Mary Kerridge as Imogen, Tristan Rawson as Cymbeline. Directed by Robert Atkins. This was the forty-fifth recorded production of the play in London since its production at the Globe in 1610.

Hamlet

September 1951-September 1952. One of the three Shakespeare plays taken by Eric Elliott on his tour of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Eric Elliott as Hamlet. Directed by Eugene Wellesley.

February 14, 16, 17, 1952. The University Players, Knights Hall, Valetta, Malta. Mr. Flamini-Philcox as Hamlet. Directed by Professor A. C. Sprague.

February 26, 27. The Pioneer Players, Shurtleff College, Alton, Illinois. Frank Ballard as Hamlet. Directed by Mary Belle Smith. The small stage was built out into the auditorium, the setting painted to resemble rock. This was the first Shakespeare production at the college since 1910.

February 28, 29, March 1. University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho. Fred Burton as Hamlet. Directed by Jean Collette.

March 4-8. Oxford University Dramatic Society, at the Playhouse, Oxford, England. David Williams as Hamlet. Directed by Nevill Coghill and David Williams.

March 22-April 5. The Department of Drama, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. John Ragin as Hamlet. Directed by Henry Boettcher assisted by Edith Warman Skinner. Presented as "the most international of all plays" for International Theatre month.

April 4-12, June 18-21. University Theatre, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. David Morgan as Hamlet. Directed by Frank M. Whiting. This was the first production of *Hamlet* in a theater where a Shakespeare play is given every year.

April 14-19. Presented by the Canadian Repertory Theatre, Ottawa, Canada. Richard Easton as Hamlet. Directed by Sam Payne.

May 16, June 5, 6. Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Lawrence Spector '54 and Ross McLean '39 as Hamlet. Directed by George Quinby and Neal Wilder. The entire production was based on an interpretation of the play in *Scourge and Minister* by George Roy Elliott. The cast for the first two performances, students; for the last, alumni—to honor Bowdoin's retiring President K. C. M. Sills.

June 5, 6. In French. One of the plays of "Shakespeare in four languages" at the Zurich Festival. Given at the Schauspielhaus by the Madeleine Renaud-Jean Louis Barrault Company.

Jean Louis Barrault as Hamlet. This play, a translation by André Gide, was first produced in Paris, then toured Europe extensively. It was also seen at the Edinburgh Festival and in London; later played in Montreal and New York City.

June 12, for twelve performances. In the courtyard of Kronberg Castle, at the annual Elsinore Festival, Denmark. The Hilton Edwards—Michael Mac Liammoir Dublin Gate Theatre Company played at the invitation of the Danish government. Michael MacLiammoir as Hamlet. Directed by Hilton Edwards. The play was given in Jacobean costume, set against a single tapestry, flanked by portraits of the dead King of Denmark and his murderer.

August 14-16. One of the three Shakespeare plays given in the Festival, University of Denver, Colorado, June 23—August 22. Norbert Silbiger, guest director. Staff directors for the Festival, Robert Mead, Kathryn Kayser, Waldo Williamson. An outdoor production.

August 24-29. The University of Duluth. Open air production in a Duluth park. Jack Sommers as Hamlet. Directed by H. L. Hayes. Played to 4500 people. Co-sponsored by city of Duluth. No admission charged.

October. In Trondhjem, Norway. Georg Lökkeberg as Hamlet. Directed by Ingolf Schanche. November 6, 7, 8. Presented by Cap and Bells, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. Directed by David C. Bryant.

Autumn. The New Theatre, Bromley, England. Production in modern dress.

In the repertory of the autumn season which began in September. The Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich. Directed by W. Nugent Monck.

In the repertory of the autumn season of the Arts Theatre, Belfast, Ireland. A production in modern dress.

1951-1952 season. Opera House, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

In the repertory of the 1952 season of the National Theatre, Budapest, Hungary. Directed by Tamas Major. A five-hour, unabridged version. Hamlet portrayed as an Elizabethan revenge hero. A changing cast in various performances. Three different actors during the engagement played the part of Hamlet (including Tamas Major); three, Gertrude; two each, Polonius, Laertes, Horatio, and Ophelia.

Julius Caesar

March 11, 1952. Cambridge University, the Marlowe Society and the A.D.C., at the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. A reproduction of an Elizabethan performance, the actors speaking their lines in accents of Shakespeare's day. The play followed by a jig, in keeping with Elizabethan custom.

May 2, 17, June 5, and continuing in its 1952 repertory. The Hedgerow Theatre, Moylan, Pennsylvania. Directed by Rose Schulman. An uncut text.

May 17. The First Folio Theatre Company, in the George Inn yard, Southwark, London. Michael Bullock as Brutus. Directed by Kenneth McClellan and Max Miradin. The presentation emphasized the tragedy of Brutus.

June 15-17. The Stover Theatre, Stetson University, Deland, Florida.

June 30-July 12. Trinity College, Toronto, Canada. One of three plays in annual Shakespeare Festival. John Lindsey as Caesar, Douglas Ney as Brutus, Earle Grey as Cassius, Mary Godwin as Portia. Directed by Earle Grey. Outdoor production in quadrangle of Trinity College.

August 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28. Twelfth annual Oregon Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Paul Kliss as Caesar, William Oyler as Brutus. Directed by Allen Fletcher. On August 16 part of Scene i, Act III (assassination of Caesar) and part of Scene ii, Act III (Mark Antony's address), were broadcast from the stage. Elizabethan dances were given before performances of play. Music for play composed by Ellis B. Kohs.

October 29-November 8. Bradford Civic Playhouse, Bradford, England. Peter Dews as Caesar. Directed by David Siles.

In autumn season of Perth Theatre Company, Perth, Scotland.

King Henry IV, Part 1

March 18-22, 1952. The Denison University Theatre, Granville, Ohio. Frederick Bogaert as Henry IV, David Bayley as Prince Hal, Harry Swoger as Falstaff, David Rounds as Hotspur. Directed by William Brasmer.

March 26—April 5. The Wigan Little Theatre, Wigan, England. A. Lee as Henry IV, D. Brown as Falstaff, D. Collier as Hotspur.

April 22-29. University of Texas. Mainer Hines as Henry IV, Claude Latson as Prince Hal,

Jim Gavin as Falstaff, Stanley Pitts as Hotspur. Directed by B. Iden Payne. Performed with *King Henry IV, Part 2* on alternate nights. Produced on a modified Elizabethan stage.

July 9. The Richmond Shakespeare Society. The Open Air Theatre, Richmond, England. Directed by Frank Newman.

July 16, 17, 19, 20, 27, August 3, 9, 24, 28, September 4. One of the Festival of chronicle plays given at the Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Arthur Lithgow as Henry IV, Arthur Oshlag as Falstaff, David Hooks as Prince Hal, Meredith Dallas as Hotspur. An Elizabethan type of stage built over steps of Main Building, a multi-levelled platform. Continuous flow of action. Over 13,000 playgoers saw the 67 performances of the cycle.

July 21-26. *King Henry IV*, a combined version of Parts 1 and 2. One of the plays given in the Canterbury Festival, by the King's School Players in the Cathedral Chapter House. N. Raffle as Falstaff. Directed by Canon F. J. Shirley.

King Henry IV, Part 2

April 22-29, 1952. University of Texas. Directed by B. Iden Payne.

July 23, 24, 26, 27, August 3, 9, 29, September 5. One of the Festival of chronicle plays given at the Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Directed by Arthur Lithgow.

King Henry V

May 17-28, 1952. The Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by W. Nugent Monck. Production on an Elizabethan stage.

June 12-July 12. The Independent Theatre, Sydney, Australia. Directed by Dr. Cardamatis.

July 30, 31, August 2, 10, 24, 30, September 6. One of the Festival of chronicle plays given at the Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. David Hooks as Henry V. Directed by Meredith Dallas.

August 2, 6, 10, 14, 18, 22, 26. Twelfth annual Oregon Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Richard Rizzo as Henry V. Directed by Philip Hanson. Incidental music composed by Hans Lampl.

King Henry VI

August 6, 10, 17, 30, September 6, 1952. Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. From Shakespeare's three long plays about Henry VI, Arthur Lithgow created for the Festival a single three-act play, shortening each of Shakespeare's plays into one act. David Gold as Henry VI. Directed by Arthur Lithgow.

King Henry VI, Part 3. April 1-April 26. Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, England. Jack May as King Henry VI, Rosalind Boxall as Queen Margaret. Directed by Douglas Seale. Taken July 21 to London for two weeks.

King Henry VIII

July 29-August 2, 1952. Performed on alternate nights with *The Taming of the Shrew* in the sixth annual Shakespeare Festival, Camden Hills Theatre, Camden, Maine. A garden theater, the cast, professionals and college students from all sections of the United States. Directed by Rita Bates. In conjunction with the theatre is a school, founded by Prof. Bricker six years ago, for undergraduate and advanced study of the drama.

August 20, 21, 22, 23, 31, September 7. One of the Festival of chronicle plays given at the Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Arthur Lithgow as King Henry VIII. Directed by Meredith Dallas.

King John

December 7, 8, 1951. King William Players, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland. Richard Congdon as King John. Directed by Al Sugg. "Pure light used, with the effect of photographic starkness, to heighten the starkness of the play itself."

December 7-15, 1951. University Players, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

May 9-13, 1952. The Wisconsin Players, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. Donald Soule as King John. Directed by Ronald Mitchell. Music students wrote the fanfares and the University band, under Raymond Dvorak, recorded them.

June 13, 14, 17. Angers, France. Directed by Marcel Herrand.

July 2-6, 13, 18, 25, August 7, 26, September 2. One of the Festival of chronicle plays given at the Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Allan Rich as King John. Directed by Arthur Lithgow.

King Lear

Opened October 30, 1951. The Citizens' Theatre, Glasgow, Scotland. George Coulouris as King Lear. Directed by Peter Potter.

November 20-25, November 30, December 1, 2, 14, 15, 16. The Brattle Theatre, Cambridge, Massachusetts. William Devlin as King Lear. Directed by Peter Temple.

Opened December 5, at the Comedy Theatre, Melbourne, Australia. First of the Shakespeare season plays presented by the John Alden Company in association with J. C. Williamson Theatres Ltd. The Shakespeare series of six plays was directed jointly by John Alden and James E. Mills. The repertory ran for four months in Melbourne (Victoria), moved then to Adelaide (South Australia) where a season at the Theatre Royal lasted until May 13. The company thereafter played at His Majesty's Theatre, Brisbane (Queensland) from May 19 to June 23. From Brisbane the company moved to Toowoomba (Queensland) for a week, and then played at Canberra (Australian Capital Territory). A season began in Perth (Western Australia) on August 18.

February 11-18, 1952. The Bolton Little Theatre, Bolton, England. Directed by Percy Corry. Opened March 3. The Old Vic Company, at the Old Vic Theatre, London. Stephen Murray as King Lear. Directed by Hugh Hunt. This opening followed a tour which began in January in Brussels, and continued through the low countries and Scandinavia. Briefly, in May, at the Old Vic in London, William Devlin played the role of King Lear.

March 16, 17. Palmetto Players, Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina. Special music was composed for the play, and performed by an orchestra from the college and city of Spartanburg.

Summer. Southport Repertory Company, Southport, England. Donald Bodley as King Lear. Directed by Donald Bodley.

1951-1952 season. The Dramatic Theatre, newly converted, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

King Richard II

November 28-December 1, 1951. Speech Department, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Nate Katler as King Richard. Directed by Claribel Baird.

January 23, 1952. Presented by the St. Cross Players, at St. Mary Abbott's Church Hall, Kensington, England. Harold Swinscow as King Richard. Directed by George Bethell Datch.

June 4, 7, 18, July 13, 18. In German. One of the plays of "Shakespeare in four languages," at the Zurich Festival, the Schauspielhaus. Directed by Otto Hirschfeld.

July 9-13, 20, August 1, 8, 16, 27, September 3. One of the Festival of chronicle plays, the Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Meredith Dallas as King Richard II. Directed by Meredith Dallas.

August 7 for eight weeks. The Metropolitan Theatre, at the St. Lawrence Church of Christ, Sydney, N. S. Wales, Australia. Directed by John Appleton. Four performances weekly, including one matinee.

King Richard III

March 20-29, 1952. Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. Kenneth Bowles as Richard III. Directed by Sawyer Falk. No front curtain. A virtually uncut text, a three-hour performance.

April 29. The Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, at Duthy Hall, Southwark. Gilbert Harrison as King Richard. Directed by Lilian Harrison.

August 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 31, September 7. One of the Festival of chronicle plays, Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Allan Rich as Richard III. Directed by Arthur Lithgow.

Love's Labour's Lost

November 6, 1951, for three weeks. The Bristol Old Vic Company, Bristol, England. Laurence Payne as Berowne, Pamela Alan as the Princess. Directed by Hugh Hunt.

December 10-19. The Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by W. Nugent Monck.

March 21-29, 1952. The Green Room Theatre, Cheapside, Manchester, England. Anthony Ryan as Berowne, Noelle Hopley as the Princess. Directed by Maurice T. Mendelsohn.

Macbeth

October 17-20. The Southsea Actors, Southsea, England. Ronald Mills as Macbeth, Brenda Cosgrave as Lady Macbeth. Directed by K. Edmonds Gateley.

Opened November 12, 1951. The Perth Theatre Company, Perth, Scotland. David Steuart as Macbeth, Maud Risdon as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Edmund Bailey. Production later given at Kirkcaldy, Edinburgh, and Stirling.

November 16, 17, 18. Johns Hopkins Playshop, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. John Ruxton as Macbeth, Marcia Hovick as Lady Macbeth. Directed by James Byrd. Psychological rather than supernatural use made of witches, representing three aspects of Lady Macbeth's personality—good, evil, insanity.

November 23-24. Ateneo Players Guild, in auditorium of Ateneo de Manila College, Manila, Philippine Islands. Gabino Mendoza as Macbeth, Ricardo Nepomuceno as Lady Macbeth. Directed by the Rev. Henry Lee Irwin, S.J. Each upper class of the Fine Arts College was given the project of producing a Shakespeare play. Under student direction, the plays were rehearsed simultaneously until the last two weeks when the faculty director polished the productions. The costumes were made over from the 1950 *Hamlet*, which was given on a platform in front of the bombed out college edifice.

November 27, 28, 29, December 11, 12, 13, 21, 22. The Brattle Theatre, Cambridge, Massachusetts. William Devlin as Macbeth. Directed by Albert Marre.

December 13, 14. Willesden Repertory Company, Anson Hall, Cricklewood, England. George Robinson as Macbeth. Directed by Geoffrey Rodges.

January 17, 1952. Provincetown Repertory, the Playhouse, MacDougal Street, New York City.

January 28—February 9. Nottingham Theatre Trust, Nottingham Playhouse, Nottingham, England. John Lindsay as Macbeth, Patricia Kneale as Lady Macbeth. Directed by John Harrison. A Jacobean production, played continuously, with one short break. A blood-red permanent setting against a changing cyclorama. Text followed the first Folio.

January 29, 30, 31, February 1, 2. Montana State University Theatre, Missoula, Montana. Glenn Reznor as Macbeth, Marjorie Lovberg as Lady Macbeth. Directed by LeRoy W. Hinze. Production given on a revolving stage. Original music furnished by a university student.

February 4-9. Memphis State College, Memphis, Tennessee. First annual Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Professors Bradford White and Eugene Bence.

March 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15. Wayne University Theatre, Detroit, Michigan. David Gracie as Macbeth, Dorothy Heck as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Leonard Leone. Text for the production prepared by Leo Kirschbaum of the University English Department. Incidental score by Robert Lawson in cooperation with the University Symphony. Innovation of original films made by the University Theatre was employed to give a more dramatic effect to the witch and battle scenes.

March 21—April 5. Speech and Drama Department, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. Directed by Alan Schneider. Through much of the play the witches remained silhouetted against the sky, as a sort of mute chorus.

April 26. The Little Theatre, Reno, Nevada.

April 26. The Drama Committee of the Philadelphia Art Alliance. Plays and Players Theatre, Philadelphia. Staats Cotsworth as Macbeth, Muriel Kirkland as Lady Macbeth. Directed by James Kirk Merrick. A bare-stage, reading-stand production of the type given Shaw's *Don Juan in Hell* in New York 1952. The reading version employed, that of Maurice Evans' *Macbeth*, 1941. On September 14, presented at the White Barn Theatre, Westport, Connecticut.

Opened May 6. The Bristol Old Vic Company, Bristol, England. Michael Aldridge as Macbeth. Pamela Alan as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Denis Carey.

May 22. The Old Vic Company left London on a six months' tour of South Africa. Douglas Campbell as Macbeth, Irene Worth as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Hugh Hunt. A premier of this play in South Africa. Much comment in the South African press upon director's emphasis upon Third Witch as an instrument of destiny, a psychoanalytical approach.

Opened June 10, as part of the repertory of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Ralph Richardson as Macbeth, Margaret Leighton as Lady Macbeth. Directed by John Gielgud.

June 14. In Italian. One of the plays of "Shakespeare in four languages" at the Zurich Festival, the Schauspielhaus. Directed by Giorgio Strehler.

July. Le Théâtre de la Renaissance, Paris. René Lesage as Macbeth, Marie-Hélène Dosté as Lady Macbeth. Translation by Suzanne Bing and Jacques Copeau.

July. Verdi's opera *Otello* given at Glyndebourne, England.

Summer. County Players, Theatre Royal, Lincoln, England. Tony Cope as Macbeth. Directed by Douglas Quayle. Disappearing illusion in the witch scenes.

September 10, 11, 12, 13; 30, October 1, 2, 3. Twice nightly. The Mermaid Theatre, London. Bernard Miles as Macbeth, Josephine Wilson as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Joan Swinstead. The production attempted to combine both the pronunciation and acting style of Shakespeare's own lifetime. Elizabethan pronunciation and gesture directed by A. C. Gimson and Bertram L. Joseph.

September 22. Arts Council Tour, opening at Cardiff, Wales. Directed by Walter Hudd.

Autumn. Loyola University, Chicago. One of the plays in the annual Catholic Theatre Festival. Ian Keith as Macbeth.

Measure for Measure

October 13-20, 1951. Stockport Garrick Society, Stockport, England. Directed by Joyce Birch.
December 7, 8. University Theatre Acting Company, Mandel Hall, Chicago, Illinois. Directed by George Blair.

April, 1952. Norwich Players, the Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by W. Nugent Monck. The play was also part of the autumn repertory.

April 27, 28, 30, May 1, 3, 4, 5. Baylor University, Waco, Texas. Benny Self as Angelo, Janette Gartin as Isabella. Directed by Peter Quinton. Three stages used for production. The sets and costumes were handpainted by French artist Reynold Arnould.

Opened September 30. The Bristol Old Vic, at the Royal, Bristol, England. Robert Eddison as Angelo, Margot Vanderbilt as Isabella. Directed by Basil Coleman. This play has not been seen in Bristol since 1813.

The Merchant of Venice

September 1951—September 1952. One of the three plays taken by Eric Elliott on his tour of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Eric Elliott as Shylock. Directed by Eugene Wellesley.

November 8, 9, 10, 1951. Stanford University Players, Palo Alto, California. Clarence Derwent as Shylock. Directed by A. Nicholas Vardac. Produced on a platform stage which extended into the auditorium. Continuous action except for one break.

December 5-7. Ateneo Guild, in the auditorium of the Ateneo de Manila College, Manila, Philippine Islands. Antonio Laurora as Shylock. Directed by the Rev. Henry Lee Irwin S.J.

December. One of the six Shakespeare plays given by the John Alden Company touring Australia. John Alden as Shylock. Directed by John Alden and James Mills.

February 7, 8, 9, 1952. University of Delaware Drama Group, Newark, Delaware. G. Taggart Evans as Shylock. Directed by Elizabeth Kase. Set attendance record for last two seasons.

March 5, 6, 7, 8. The William and Mary Theatre, Williamsburg, Virginia. David Friedman as Shylock. Directed by Althea Hunt.

May 3-4. Marymount Dramatic Club, Tarrytown, New York. Directed by Anthony Messuri. The whole theater was the stage.

March 17, 18, 19. The Dartmouth Players, Dartmouth College. Marshall Meyer as Shylock. Directed by H. B. Williams. Staged on a Globe Theatre replica.

July 14-16, August 16. The Barter Theatre, Abingdon, Virginia. Directed by Margaret Perry. On September 29 this play was taken on tour across the western plains and down the California shoreline.

July 21-26. Trinity College, Toronto, Canada. One of the plays in Shakespeare Festival. Earle Grey as Shylock, Mary Godwin as Portia. Directed by Earle Grey. Outdoor production.

July 23-26. One of the three Shakespeare plays given in the Festival, University of Denver, Colorado, June 23-August 22. Norbert Silbiger, guest director. Staff directors, Robert Mead, Kathryn Kayser, Waldo Williamson. Revolving stage used.

November 8-20. The Questors Theatre, Ealing, London. Directed by Eric Voce.

Autumn. County Players, Lincoln, England. Donald O'Malley as Shylock. Directed by Douglas Quayle.

The Merry Wives of Windsor

December, 1951. One of the six Shakespeare plays given by the John Alden Company touring Australia.

June 9-14, 1952. Leicester Drama Society, Leicester, England. Robert Martin as Falstaff. Fred Junian, manager.

August 14-16. University of Colorado Theatre, Boulder, Colorado. Directed by J. H. Crouch. Outdoor production. No cutting.

October. The new Folketheatret, Oslo, Norway.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

November 29-December 2, 1951. Kenyon College Dramatic Club, Gambier, Ohio. Directed by J. E. Michael. An Elizabethan production. Fairies played by ten-year-old boys.

December 23-January 16, 1952. Theatre '52, Dallas, Texas. Norman Howard as Puck. Directed by Margo Jones. A production in the round.

December 26-February 16, 1952. The Old Vic Company, at the Old Vic Theatre, London. Paul Rogers as Bottom, Terry Wale as Puck. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie. This production was later taken on the South African tour.

December. One of the six Shakespeare plays given by the John Alden Company touring Australia. John Alden as Bottom, Alistair Roberts as Puck. Directed by John Alden and James Mills.

February 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 1952. Susquehanna Players, Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania. Directed by Alex Kleinsorg.

February 18. The Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England.

February 28, 29, March 1, 2. Milwaukee Players of the Department of Recreation. Directed by Robert E. Freidel. Repeated on August 28 at the eighth annual Childrens' Theatre Conference at the University of Wisconsin.

April 25-26. Dramatic Art Department, School of Education, New York University. Albert Quinton as Bottom, Mario Martone as Puck. Directed by Randolph Somerville. Twentieth annual Shakespeare production.

March 20-April 27. National Theatre, Athens, Greece. Directed by Charles Koun. Music by Manos Hadzidakis.

May 8, 9, 10. De Pauw University Little Theater, Greencastle, Indiana. Directed by Herold T. Ross. Music was used throughout. The fairies were small girl dancers.

May 28-31. University of California in Los Angeles. Ralph Freud as Bottom. Directed by William W. Melnitz. Staged as a Baroque court masque. Mendelssohn music.

June 14, 17, 19, 21, 25, 27, 30, July 1, 2, 3, 4. In German. One of the plays of "Shakespeare in four languages" at the Zurich Festival, Rietberg Park. Directed by Oskar Walterlin. An open air production with Mendelssohn music, played by the Winterthur Municipal Orchestra.

June 24, 25, 26. The Arts Club of Washington, D. C. Frank Dannelly as Bottom, Virginia Riker as Puck. Directed by Denis Connell.

Part of Festival, June 27-July 13, Graz, in the British zone of Austria. Presented by Helmuth Ebbs.

Opened July 1. National Theatre Company, at the Margaret Island open-air theater, Budapest, Hungary.

July 7-12. The Bolton Little Theatre, Bolton, England. An open air production in Moss Bank Park.

Opened August 12. The Playhouse, Liverpool, England. Directed by Willard Stoker. Sets and costumes after Botticelli.

Summer. Avon, Connecticut. Directed by Allison Ridley. A triple outdoor stage. Court processions inspired by Max Reinhardt, fairy scenes inspired by Arthur Rackham illustrations.

November 26-29. The Southsea Actors, Southsea, England. Directed by K. Edmunds Gateley.

Much Ado About Nothing

November 1951. For the official opening of a new repertory theater, Johannesburg, South Africa. Directed by Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies.

January 11-August 2, 1952. The Phoenix, London. John Gielgud as Benedick, Diana Wynyard as Beatrice. Directed by John Gielgud.

February 28-March 1. Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Directed by Homer N. Abegglen.

March 19-22. University Theatre, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio. Carl Balson as Benedick, Tina Lazoff as Beatrice. Directed by F. Lee Miesle.

April 25-26. Presented by the Dramatic Art Department, School of Education, New York University, New York City. Directed by Randolph Somerville. Twentieth annual Shakespeare production.

May 1-3. Music Box, New York City. Claire Luce as Beatrice, Anthony Eustrel as Benedick. Directed by Anthony Eustrel.

May 2, 3. Omnibus Dramatic Club, Saratoga Springs. Frema Kutler as Benedick, Janet Gregory as Beatrice. Directed by Margaret Ellen Clifford.

August 3, 7, 11, 15, 19, 23, 27. Twelfth annual Oregon Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Richard Graham as Benedick, Eleanor Prosser as Beatrice. Directed by Angus L. Bowmer. Adaptation of incidental music by Hans Lampl.

Given at the Cheltenham Music Festival, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, England, by the Bristol University Society. Directed by Irene Mawer.

Summer season. The Taverners, on tour of "Poetry and Plays in Pubs." Directed by Henry McCarthy.

September 17-20. Smethwick Repertory Company, at the Repertory Theatre, Smethwick, England. Directed by Arthur Hunt.

1951-1952 season. Opera House, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Fall season. Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria.

Othello

September 1951-September 1952. One of the three Shakespeare plays taken by Eric Elliott on his tour of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Eric Elliott as Othello. Directed by Eugene Wellesley. September 28-29, 1951. Ateneo Players Guild, in the auditorium of Ateneo de Manila College, Manila, Philippine Islands. Andres Bautista as Othello. Directed by the Rev. Henry Lee Irwin, S.J.

October 1-30. The Istanbul Municipal Theatre, Istanbul, Turkey. H. K. Gurmen as Othello. Directed by H. K. Gurmen.

October 29-30, 31. Nebraska University Theatre, Lincoln, Nebraska, Jack Wenstrand as Othello. Directed by D. S. Williams.

Opened October 31. The Old Vic Company, the Old Vic Theatre, London. Douglas Campbell as Othello, Paul Rogers as Iago, Irene Worth as Desdemona. Directed by Michael Langham. One of the plays taken later on the South African tour.

November 17. The Okuma Auditorium, Waseda University, Tokyo. Directed by Sugisaku Aoyama.

Autumn. Joint production by Bryn Mawr College and Haverford College. Directed by Professor Frederick Thon. The Kittredge text presented in its entirety.

December 6, 7, 8. The Little Theatre Club of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Jay Finkel as Othello. Directed by Barbara Pearson Lange.

December. One of the six Shakespeare plays given by the John Alden Company touring Australia.

April 14-May 4, 1952. The Arts Theater Club, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Dana Elcar as Othello. Directed by Strowan Robertson. An arena production. An uncut text.

April 23. Royal Theatre, Wexford, Ireland. One of the engagements of the Anew McMaster Company, the only company touring Shakespeare in Ireland all the year round.

April 29-May 3, July 23-26. Northwestern University Theatre, Evanston, Illinois. Lee Mitchell, director for April and May performances; Joseph F. Smith, guest director from University of Hawaii for July performance.

May 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17. San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California. Directed by Jules Irving.

July 9-12. Eagles Mere Summer Theatre, Eagles Mere, Pennsylvania. Directed by Alvina Krause.

July 26-August 31. The opera of *Otello* by Verdi, at the Festspielhaus, the Salzburg Festival. Produced by Herbert Graf. The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Wilhelm Furtwangler.

September 29. Opening of the newly founded mobile Century Theatre, at Hinkley, Leicestershire, England. Wilfred Harrison as Othello, Norma Shebbeare as Desdemona. Directed by Abraham Asseo. After a week in Hinkley the company made a tour of many towns including: Rugby, Warwick, Worcester, Stourbridge, and Shrewsbury. The traveling unit consisted of four specially designed trailers, a stage eighteen by thirty feet, modern dressing rooms for company, living quarters and office. A non-profit organization, result of plans laid in 1948.

September. At the Gate Theatre, Dublin. The Longford Productions' presentation with Godfrey Quigley and Denis Edwards.

1951-1952 season. The Opera House, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

1951-1952 season. Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

Romeo and Juliet

October 15, 1951. The King's Players, Gateway Theatre, Edinburgh, Scotland. Directed by Richard Mathews.

October 31-November 10. Bradford Civic Playhouse, Bradford, England. Directed by David Giles.

November 20. University of Bristol Dramatic Society, Bristol, England. Directed by Evan Roberts.

December 7, 8. Pennsylvania Players, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. F. Sauers as Romeo, Dale Hamilton as Juliet. Directed by Kathleen C. Quinn.

January 31, and three nights following, 1952. College Players, Municipal College, Southend, London.

February 1, 2. Cornell Dramatic Club, Ithaca, New York. Directed by Bedford Thurman.

February 21, 22, 23. University Players, Atlanta, Georgia. Bernard Peterson as Romeo, Wylma White as Juliet. Directed by Baldwin Burroughs.

A production featured as part of the second annual Shakespeare Festival, April 14-May 3, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. David Fentress as Romeo, Mimi Newmark as Juliet. Directed by Sam Hirsch. Production based on the Good Quarto 2, with dependence (I. ii. 57-1. iii. 36) on Bad Quarto 1.

April 23-26. Utah State Theatre, Logan, Utah. Vosco Call as Romeo, Van Brite as Juliet. Directed by F. T. Morgan. Elizabethan stage.

May 6-7. Wake Forest College Theatre, Wake Forest, North Carolina. John De Vos as Romeo, Ellene Hollbrook as Juliet. Directed by Clyde McElroy.

Opened May 6. National Theatre, Oslo, Norway. Knut Wigert as Romeo, Liv Strömstedt as Juliet. Directed by Knut Hergel. Also given in Bergen.

May 8, 9, 10. The Penn State Players, State College, Pennsylvania. Directed by R. Reifsnider.

May 15, 18. Le Grenier de Toulouse, Bordeaux, France.

August 4. The Marlowe Society, at the Arts Theatre. Part of the Cambridge Summer Festival. Anthony White as Romeo, Teresa Moore as Juliet. Directed by George Rylands and John Barton. Subsequent performances at the Scala and Phoenix theaters in London. A full-text production.

September 1. The Old Vic Company, for the third week of the Edinburgh International Festival. Alan Badel as Romeo, Claire Bloom as Juliet. Directed by Hugh Hunt. Play later returned to London with run extended to mid-November.

October 15-18. The Southsea Actors. Southsea, England. Directed by K. Edmonds Gateley.

October. Comédie Française, Paris.

The Taming of the Shrew

September 18-22, 1951. The Canadian Repertory Theatre, Ottawa, Canada. Roy Irving as Petruchio, Gertrude Allen as Katherina. Directed by Sam Payne.

In September, Harry Reynolds, Oliver Gordon, and Leslie Yeo took a company from England to give a season of plays at St. John's, Newfoundland. This Shakespearian play was included in the repertory. John Holmes, the director.

October 1951-October 1952. Le Grenier de Toulouse, In Paris and a tour of France, North Africa, and Switzerland. André Thorent as Petruchio, Simone Turck as Katherina. Directed by Maurice Sarrazin.

December 1-15. The Crescent Theatre, Birmingham, England. Directed by Frank Jones. A modern dress production.

January 21, 1952. The Playhouse, Sheffield, England. Directed by Geoffrey Ost.

April 14-May 3. The second annual Shakespeare Festival, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. Karl Redcoff as Petruchio, Evelyn King as Katherina. Directed by Sam Hirsch. Production based on Folio text, with epilogue from 1594 Quarto.

April 24, 25, 26, May 1, 2, 3. Lawrence College Theatre, Appleton, Wisconsin. Roger Christian as Petruchio, Mary Witham as Katherina. Directed by John F. Sollers. An arena production.

April 29-30, May 1. The Mask and Bauble Players, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. John Dooley as Petruchio, Jean Maloney as Katherina. Directed by Anthony Manzi.

April. The Theatre Group of the Norwegian Students' Union, Oslo, Norway.

May. The Department of Drama, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Directed by Gene Tell.

Spring. Habimah Theatre Company, Tel Aviv, Israel. Simon Finkel as Petruchio, Ada Tal as Katherina. Directed by Julius Gellner of the Mermaid Theatre, London. The setting, an approximation of the Globe, the speech an approximation of Elizabethan English.

July 18, 19. One of the three Shakespeare plays given in the Festival, University of Denver, Colorado. Norbert Silbiger, guest director.

July 29-August 2. Given alternate nights with *King Henry VIII* in the sixth annual Shakespeare Festival, Camden Hills Theatre, Camden, Maine. Directed by Jack Reed.

August. The Oxford and Cambridge Players, a company formed from graduates of both universities. The gardens of Blackhall, Oxford, England. Their first production. Directed by Gordon Gostelow. On August 27, another performance at Riddle's Court.

The Tempest

Opened September 17, 1951. The Mermaid Theatre, London. Bernard Miles as Caliban, Terry Wale as Ariel. Directed by Julius Gellner.

November 13-20, 26-27. Amherst College Masquers, Amherst, Massachusetts. Raymond MacDonnell as Caliban, Russell Moro as Prospero. Directed by F. Curtis Canfield. On revolving stage. Women's parts and dancing direction, Smith College. Broke all previous attendance records.

December. One of the six Shakespeare plays given by the John Alden Company touring Australia.

February 17, 18, 19, 1952. Presented by the Loras Players, Loras College, Dubuque, Iowa. Charles Monkton as Caliban, Richard Runde as Ariel. Directed by the Rev. Karl Schroeder.

March 25. Opened as part of the repertory of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Michael Hordern as Caliban, Margaret Leighton as Ariel. Directed by Michael Benthall.

August 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25, 30. Twelfth annual Oregon Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Douglas Meeker as Caliban, William Ball as Ariel. Directed by Richard Graham. Adaptation of incidental music by Hans Lampl.

Summer. The Rice Playhouse, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. Directed by Basil Langton. No curtain, continuous action. Production marked 350th anniversary of discovery of Martha's Vineyard Island, an event that has been said to have inspired Shakespeare's use of atmospheric details.

Opened 1952 season at National Theatre of Belgium, Antwerp. Translation by M. Nyhoff. Tine Balder as Ariel. Directed by Ben Royaards. The nineteenth Shakespeare play to be performed by this company.

Timon of Athens

May 28-June 28, 1952. The Old Vic Company, the Old Vic Theatre, London. André Morell as Timon. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie. Following the London season, the *Timon* company went to Zurich where the production was the play in English of "Shakespeare in four languages" at the Festival. The Schauspielhaus, July 2, 3, 4.

Titus Andronicus

At the Irving Theatre, London. Griffith Jones as Titus in the Peter Myers-Ken Tynan version of the play. One of the plays in the Grand Guignol bill.

Twelfth Night

December 26, 1951-January 20, 1952. Arena Stage, Washington, D. C. Albert Corbin as Malvolio. Directed by Zelda Fichandler.

February 4-9, 1952. Memphis State College, Memphis, Tennessee. Joe Peeples as Malvolio, Chlariata Gaines as Viola. Directed by Bradford White. First annual Shakespeare Festival.

February 26, 27, 28, 29, March 19, 20, 21. University Theatre, Athens, Georgia. Eston Perkins as Sir Toby, Carroll Conroy as Viola. Directed by Leighton M. Ballew. An Elizabethan setting patterned after the Globe and Blackfriars.

February. The Pyramid Players, Wellington, England. Michael Holt as Malvolio. Directed by Roger Weldon.

February. Nottingham Playhouse Second Company. Gordon Gostelow as Malvolio, Brigid Lenihan as Viola. Directed by Val May. A three weeks' tour of Nottinghamshire. A special production for schools.

Winter. The D. D. O'Connor Productions Ltd. Company, comprised of players from England and the four Dominions toured Australia and New Zealand, presenting this among a repertory of three plays. Directed by Ngaio Marsh.

Opened October 3, 1951 in Washington, D. C., Players Inc., a repertory troupe of former Catholic University Theatre students presented *Twelfth Night* and *Moliere's School for Wives*. Following performances in Washington the troupe made a Korean tour March 15-April 26, 1952. They played for the Armed Forces in Tokyo, Yokahama, Taegu, Seoul, Inchun, Suwon, Pusan. The tour was sponsored by the U. S. Department of the Army.

March 20, 1951, for twelve weeks. The Metropolitan Theatre, at the St. Lawrence Church of Christ, Sydney, Australia. Directed by Gwen Harrison.

April 2-6. Third annual Shakespeare Festival, Hofstra College, Hempstead, New York. Falter Thomson as Malvolio, Stella Andrew as Viola. Directed by B. Beckerman. Production in Elizabethan style on the John C. Adams replica of the Globe playhouse.

April 19, 23, 26, 28, 29, June 6, 7. Wesleyan Players, Delaware, Ohio. Darrell Hodge as Malvolio, Jean Heine as Viola. Directed by R. C. Hunter. Arena production.

June 17-25. In the Mansfield College grounds, Oxford University Dramatic Society, Oxford, England. John Wood as Malvolio, Margaret Smith as Viola. Directed by Alistair McIntosh. Following the Oxford production, this play was sent on a tour of French universities performing in Paris, Poitiers, and Clermont-Ferrand, June 29-July 6.

June. At the Repertory Theatre, Johannesburg, South Africa. Directed by Mrs. K. Pollock. The play was later taken to several high schools.

July 2-5. Speech Department, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Directed by R. C. Hunter.

July 3, 4, 5. Produced by the Southend Shakespeare Society in Priory Park, Southend, London, England.

August 4-9. Windsor Theatre Guild. In the Chapter Garden, Windsor Castle. Ken Jones as Malvolio, Joan Williamson as Viola. Directed by Miss D. Alexander.

Summer. Presented by the British Council's Pocket Theatre, in Bridgetown, Barbados. Later, a tour to St. Peter, St. John, and St. Philip.

September 22-29. The Playhouse, Kidderminster. Directed by Robert Gaston.

Two Gentlemen of Verona

November 10-21, 1951. The Questors Theatre, Ealing, London. John Howard as Proteus, Reginald Hamlyn as Valentine, Theresa Heffernan as Julia, Joan Bate as Silvia. Directed by Peter Curtis.

Opened February 4, 1952. The Bristol Old Vic Company, at the Theatre Royal, Bristol. Laurence Payne as Proteus, John Neville as Valentine, Pamela Alan as Julia, Gudrun Ure as Silvia. Directed by Denis Carey. On February 19 and June 30, for two weeks, this production was taken to the Old Vic Theatre, London.

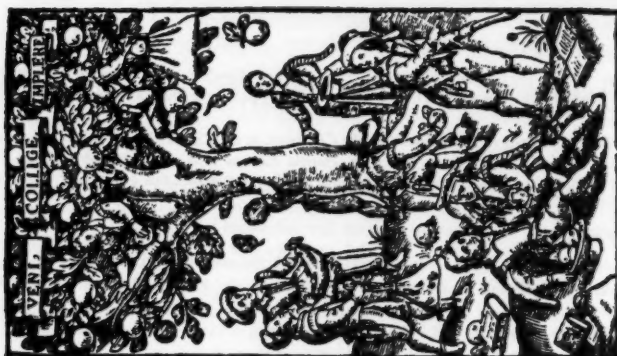
The Winter's Tale

October 29-November 3, 1951. The Newport Playgoers' Society, Newport, England.

January 4, 1952. Closing of the Gielgud production at the Phoenix, London. Directed by Hope Kerr.

Spring. Tel Aviv, Israel. Directed by Michael MacOwan.

July 14-19. Trinity College, Toronto, Canada. One of three plays in the Shakespeare Festival. Earle Grey as Leontes. Mary Godwin as Hermione. Directed by Earle Grey. Outdoor production. Summer. Théâtre Comédie, Geneva, Switzerland. French adaptation by Daniel Anet.



William Camden's *Institutio Graece*, 1617, was used in Westminster School and elsewhere for half a century. The frontispiece shows boys gathering the fruits of knowledge.

Reviews

The Merry Wives of Windsor. The History and Transmission of Shakespeare's Text. By WILLIAM BRACY. (University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XXV, no. 1.) Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1952.

The invitation to review Mr. Bracy's work has placed me in a dilemma, for it proves to be mainly concerned to dispute a theory respecting the origin of the quarto text of *The Merry Wives* that I put forward in 1910. To decline would look like running away from my former position. No doubt, were I once again to examine the evidence in detail, I might not reach precisely the same conclusions as forty years ago; but of the general idea, that the quarto contains a report in the making of which Mine Host played at least a leading part, I remain convinced. If, on the other hand, I undertake to criticize the present work, I cannot be supposed to approach it with an altogether open mind and am likely to be accused of prejudice. Prejudiced, in a measure, no doubt, I am. I am not sure, however, that all the prejudice is on one side. In a survey of previous opinion, liberally sprinkled with epithets like untenable, preconceived, prejudiced, unwarranted, and discredited, Mr. Bracy contrives to convey the impression that for a theory to be based on and to develop out of earlier speculation is somehow sinister if not discreditable, and for it to have met with general approval renders it definitely suspect. Regarding the report theory, he quotes me as contending that the occurrence of anticipations and recollections in a text is suggestive of memorial transmission. This common critical belief he rejects as "slight and unconvincing" evidence on the ground that the eye of a copyist or compositor may stray—which will account for repetition of contiguous passages but not of distant ones. And when I go on to suggest that once the presence of anticipation has made reporting likely, even the repetition of neighboring passages may acquire significance, he sees in this surely obvious remark a "sudden shift from a supposedly objective quest for truth to a definite prejudice in favor of a reporter" (p.45). I submit that argument of this sort is not so much critical as forensic, and not in the best court manner either.¹

Mr. Bracy's thesis is that the quarto text is an orderly and authorized abridgment of the play as Shakespeare wrote it. The comparative accuracy with which it reproduces the part of the Host he thinks is sufficiently explained by the fact that "The part which the Host plays is relatively minor both in the Quarto and in the Folio; consequently, there is little opportunity for abridgment" (p. 40). But the point is, not that the part is not cut, which it sometimes is, but that what remains is generally correct, and that other parts are usually better reproduced when the Host is on the stage. Mr. Bracy denies this, but does not attempt any analysis. In support of his thesis he undertakes what he calls a "reductio ad absurdum" of memorial reconstruction. Perhaps he means no more than an attempt to ridicule it, which would be on a par with his use of "data" as a singular (pp. 7, 140). In any case his method of reduction is merely

¹ I should like to make one personal explanation. Mr. Bracy speaks of Appleton Morgan's "Bankside" edition of *The Merry Wives* as "an edition which Greg most likely consulted for his study of 1910" (p. 37). Had I done so I should have made acknowledgement. I did not consult the edition, and in fact have never seen it.

to take instances in which reporting has been assumed and to assert that each is open to another explanation. Incidentally he records his opinion that the quarto corruption "bullies taile" for "bully-Stale," usually taken to be an error of hearing, "is much more logically explained as an error in reading Secretary hand" (p. 129); which raises some misgiving as to his familiarity with that script, seeing that in it confusion between a final and an initial "s" is almost inconceivable. His argument that what he calls "the dramatic integrity and continuity of the 'Bad Quarto' texts" (p. 61) proves normal abridgment, overlooks the consideration that unless the plot was intelligible and more or less hung together, the versions would not have met the demands of either actors or readers. He then quotes from my study of Elizabethan stage abridgments a lengthy passage describing the alterations that a play might be expected to undergo in the process of shortening. In this I deliberately stretched the limits, preliminary to arguing that even so they were too narrow to cover the case of *Orlando*. Mr. Bracy considers them ample to account for the quarto text of *The Merry Wives*, and in Chapter III he applies, or misapplies, my argument in a formal review of the play. This is, I suppose, to be taken as a systematic statement of his case, since he goes through the text scene by scene. It is, of course, impossible to follow him in a review. But we may perhaps take Scene XVI (= IV.v) as an example, a parallel text being to hand in my edition of the quarto. Deliberate abridgment is manifest in the omission of Simple's question respecting Anne Page and also in Falstaff's main speech (IV.v. 95-105), of which only the beginning and end are retained. But why should a garbled version of the omitted lines have been foisted into V.v. after l. 134, where there is nothing corresponding in the folio text?—a fact about which Mr. Bracy is conveniently silent. Why should a process of normal abridgment have transposed the entries of Sir Hugh and the Doctor? and why in the latter should the abridger *expand* "der is no Duke that the Court is know, to come: I tell you for good will: adieu" into "but begar I will tell you van ting, dear be a Garmaine Duke to de Court, has cosened all de host of Branford, and Redding: begar I tell you for good will, ha, ha, mine Host, am I euen met you?" largely repeating what Sir Hugh says, but allowing memory of "the wise woman of Brainford" to oust Maidenhead, this having already replaced Eton as the scene of Bardolph's mishap? Why should a copyist substitute "more wit then I learned this 7. yeare" for "more wit, then euer I learn'd before in my life" or convert "huy, and cry (villaine) I am vndone" into "I am cosened Hugh, and coy Bardolfe"? There is here food enough for thought. All Mr. Bracy has to say by way of explanation is as follows:

This scene represents the usual type of abridgment found throughout this text. Simple's second question which he wanted to ask the woman of Brainford is omitted together with this section of the dialogue. The texts correspond here otherwise. The entrances of the doctor and Sir Hugh are in reversed positions in F and Q with a slight alteration of content indicative of possible readjustment in this section of the text. Falstaff's eleven-line speech . . . has been cut . . . in Q, leaving only six lines which correspond accurately with F. Again . . . his seven-line speech and Mistress Quickly's six-line speech have both been shortened to about half that length in Q. (P. 93.)

I fancy critics will expect something better than this before they take Mr. Bracy's theory seriously.

Concerning the folio text Mr. Bracy has comparatively little to say. Swal-

lowing Hotson's identification of Justice Shallow with William Gardiner, he is convinced that *The Merry Wives* was written in the spring of 1597 immediately after *Henry IV*; although *Henry V* must have come after *Henry IV* and "Corporal" Nym in *The Merry Wives* presupposes *Henry V*. He has the curious notion that ridicule of Mömpelgart would have been "appreciated" as part of the festivities that accompanied the installation of the Duke of Württemberg—albeit *in absentia*—as a Knight of the Garter. He thinks that the summer tour of 1597 would have offered an occasion for a shortened version of the play: it would, if the play was already in existence, and if we could imagine the Chamberlain's men acting such miserable stuff even in the country. The change of Ford's alias from Brooke to Broome has usually been supposed to have been out of deference to Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, who succeeded his father, the Lord Chamberlain, in favor at Elizabeth's court, and to be of a piece with the earlier suppression of Oldcastle. Mr. Bracy believes that it remained unaltered till the play was performed before James I in 1604, shortly after Henry's brother George had been executed for treason. James's susceptibilities hardly went that far. He also believes that the folio text has been much corrupted by later adaptation. Part of the corruption he attributes to "contamination by the adapter who prepared the shortened version printed in the Quarto" (p. 137), though how and why such contamination occurred he does not explain and I at least cannot imagine.

Mr. Bracy knows his stuff. He has read widely, he gives ample references, and his quotations appear to be generally reliable, though a short passage from Nashe on p. 105 contains two errors of transcription and one ridiculous misprint. It is in judgment that he appears to me to fail. But here I may be doing him injustice, for I find myself at a loss in dealing with a critic whose mental processes I am unable to follow.

W. W. GREG

Petworth, England

Elizabethan Lyrics; A Study of the Development of English Metres and their Relation to Poetic Effect. By CATHERINE ING. London: Chatto & Windus, 1951. Pp. 252. 21s.

As its subtitle implies, this is a monograph on Elizabethan prosody, that is, on the verbal sound-patterns created in the time span from Tottell's *Miscellany* to John Donne. Miss Ing examines the influence of visual thinking, of foreign meters, and of music on these sound patterns. The author denies the importance of what, from a purist's point of view, may be termed "extraneous" influences after she has put the "naturall simparchie betweene the eare and the eye" of George Puttenham and the attempts at classical lyric forms of Spenser and Campion into their proper perspective. This perspective makes clear that the analogy to visual images or to metrical patterns of antiquity illuminates the genesis of some Elizabethan lyrics but does not "enable us to enjoy them more as poetry than formerly." The influence of music is another matter, for not only does it appeal to the same sense, the ear, but the interdependence of the two sister arts through the ages is a historical fact which must be taken into account in considering the aesthetics of either. Here the author approaches a field on which much rhapsodizing but little sound scholarship has been spent, and her work happily complements that of Bruce Pattison's *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance* (London, 1948), which the present reviewer endeavored to evaluate on another occasion (*American Musicological Society Journal*, II (1949), 125ff.).

Miss Ing wisely concentrates upon the two main forms of vocal music, the madrigal and the air, and attempts to assess the influence of their musical styles on the poetry. Certainly, madrigal verse shows definite characteristics resulting from its association with madrigal music. The poem tends to be a single structure of one stanza, for madrigals usually move to one close only, the full close at the very end. The lines will sometimes vary greatly in length, but the divisions between them will be clearly marked, just as the music is likely to proceed from one "point of imitation" to another. And just as the melodic phrases often fall into two different classes, one the main recurring rhythm and one a contrasting rhythm, so the metrical pattern, too, will tend toward a main recurring movement of stressed and unstressed syllables, and a secondary movement with its own and different rhythmical structure. This secondary rhythm will be repeated sooner or later. Both patterns will be treated, therefore, in the manner of thematic work, so well familiar from musical compositions. Finally, short phrases that differ from the main rhythm are frequently heavier and slower, demanding a controlled and deliberate reading. The only way to approach such a metrical phrase is not to subdivide it into feet, but to regard it as a component unit of the entire stanza, just as an entire melodic phrase contributes to the musical whole.

In the poetry for airs, the most cardinal fact is, of course, the strophic form. The tune which is repeated for each stanza makes the poet acutely aware of arrangements of stress, so that he becomes capable of repeating the most complex and subtle structures. Again, as in the case of the madrigals, entire lines of text and phrases of music, rather than single feet or measures, are the component subdivisions of the stanza. For instance, the first line of Dowland's famous "Weep you no more, sad fountains," corresponds to the first line of the second stanza, "Sleep is a reconciling," although the pattern is far from common in English verse lines. Throughout the book use is made of the graphic sign / for primary stress and of \ for secondary stress, x indicating lack of stress, as in scanning Old English verse according to the Sievers types. Thus, the prosody of "Weep you no more, sad fountains" may be summarized as / x x / \ / x. The author proceeds to a sensitive comparison of the complexity of a madrigal (such as Ben Jonson's "Slow, slow, fresh fount," set to music by Henry Youll) with that of an air (such as the anonymous "Weep you no more," composed by Dowland). We are made to realize that madrigal verse announces its prosodic irregularities immediately in its shifting lines, line-lengths and rhythms, but examination reveals how well controlled its "free verse" is; the air, on the other hand, first impresses us with its well balanced structure, and only detailed analysis shows what subtle complexity is controlled into this balance. What Miss Ing has to say about the likely derivation of "Flow not so fast, yee fountains," and "Weep you no more, sad fountains," both from Dowland's *Aires*, from Jonson's "Slow, slow, fresh fount," is eminently worth reading.

Thus the author shows that an intelligent approach to madrigal and air poetry cannot ignore the music. Further, many of her detailed analyses demonstrate the valuable corroboration the hypotheses of the prosodist receive from the actual duration of certain syllables in a musical setting. But Miss Ing is careful to point out that many of the poems, written in the tradition of airs and madrigals, were, nevertheless, intended to stand independently as poems. Hundreds of readers have recognized and loved as poetry the verse of songs whose music they did not know. The cause for such enjoyment is the poetic beauty, created by words alone.

This consideration leads to an examination, not of words-and-music, but of the music of words themselves, of the proportions in sound and time in verbal patterns. Quite a few of the samples chosen are, most fittingly, from the lyrics of Campion where vowels and consonants are linked into ingenious designs in which stress, rhyme, assonance, and alliteration are the most prominent, though by no means the only elements. Among these devices Campion moves with the assurance of a master craftsman, and when the pattern of a poem demands a run-on from the beginning to the end of the stanza rather than an overt subdivision into proportionate pairs of lines, the poet omits rhyme and establishes his pattern by the repetitions and echoes of speech sounds in rhyme-less stanzas. "Rose-Cheekt Lawra," is thus analyzed, and we agree that Campion

has been very much wiser than his critics. Bullen and Saintsbury, for instance, admitting the poem's beauty, sigh, "But how much more beautiful would it have been with rime!"

Of course, the discussion of the acoustical properties of words as used in verse has been carried on in many climes and ages. And although Miss Ing's bibliography is selective and restricted to recent works in the English language, her chronological list nevertheless enumerates twenty-five publications, ranging from Sidney Lanier's *Science of English Verse* (New York, 1880), to Karl Shapiro's *A Bibliography of Modern Prosody* (Baltimore, 1948). Most important for the author's purposes are T. S. Omond's *A Study of Metre* (London, 1920), and M. M. Macdermott's *Vowel Sounds in Poetry* (London, 1940).

The contribution of Omond's book to the present study is his suggestion that "isochronous periods form the units of metre," i.e., that the syllables, carried by periods of the same duration, are not necessarily equally long but, together with the expected rests, they fill an equal amount of time. Omond's "periods" are really the "feet" of conventional prosody. But in line with her earlier analyses of madrigal and air verse, the author now applies the concept of "isochronous periods" to entire lines, or at least phrases, rather than to single feet. In certain cases, as in Campion's "When thou must home" we tend

to allow to each line a length of time roughly equal to that which we allowed the first. If the syllables themselves do not fill out the time, we allow silences to make up the sum.

In other instances, such as Jonson's "Slow, slow, fresh fount," no such uniformity prevails. The first phrase has its equivalent in "Drop, drop, drop, drop," which, with its silences, may certainly be termed isochronous. But other units, though matching each other, are clearly of different duration, viz., "Like melting snow upon some craggy hill," and "Since nature's pride is now a withered daffodil." Miss Ing therefore wisely adapts her definition to the varieties of actual practice and postulates for the enjoyment of meter not equality, but *proportion* between the subdivisions of the total duration of the stanza or poem. These proportions are not necessarily simple, but their presence seems proved by

the tendency of all sensitive verse readers to weigh syllables and give them sufficient length or a sufficient surrounding of silence to create an impression of careful consideration for the dimension of time in which they exist. I am sure that rhythm in verse is a matter of time as it is in music.

Macdermott's study is valuable in that it provides us, on the basis of sensitive listening as checked against experiments with laboratory instruments,

with a reliable scale of vowels graduated according to their natural pitch: bee, bit, bate, bet, bat, burn, (remem)-ber, but, balm, bog, ball, bone, boom, bull. In reading verse, the human voice follows the tendencies of natural vowel pitch, and in passages where either high or low vowels predominate the voice will tend to move to the appropriate pitch level. And, very generally, it may be said that high and low vowels differ from each other in emotional effect. Beyond that, vowel pitch, both within the line, and particularly in conjunction with rhyme, is one of the important structural elements by which the poet creates correspondence and proportion. Miss Ing's thought runs here parallel to that of scholarship in other European literatures. In analyses of German verse, for instance, the studies of Eduard Sievers, Othmar Rutz, Woldemar Masing, Robert Lach, and Oskar Walzel provide welcome corroboration, and it is unfortunate that the author does not refer, at least, to Sievers' studies of the melody of speech. Parenthetically it may be noted that in other places, too, a passing recognition of continental scholarship would aid Miss Ing's observations. Her very perceptive recognition that mechanical rhythm is "dead" and that irregularity infuses "life" would gain depth from a comparison with the findings of the Swiss psychologist and philosopher Ludwig Klages in his book, *Vom Wesen des Rhythmus*. However, these are merely suggestions on minor points in a work of major achievements. And the author is indeed to be congratulated on not succumbing to the natural desire for over-simplification. The summary of her cautions against some of Macdermott's theses offers wise counsel to the student of vowel pitch in prosody:

I do not believe that we may safely dismiss a poem as bad just because "the [pitch-]level is wrong." I do not believe that "the music of poetry" is contained entirely in its vowels. I do not believe that we can neatly and exhaustively tabulate all the moods and subjects of poetry as suitable for certain vowels and no other.

The final chapter analyzes a few lyrics by three major poets: Spenser, Shakespeare, and Donne. The section on Shakespeare gives examples of air poetry, such as "When daisies pied" from *Love's Labour's Lost*, where the strophic form is of the utmost importance, and where the onomatopoetic bird cries occur in exactly corresponding positions in each stanza. "Tell me where is fancy bred," on the other hand, provides a characteristic example of madrigal verse. Its intricate pattern moves to the one and only final close of "Ding, dong, bell," a close whose emphasis has carefully been prepared in the preceding line by the new rhyme word "knell" and which is extended by a repetition of the three syllables by "All," as the stage remark puts it; i.e., by musicians as well as actors. Many commentators have pointed out that the rhyme of the first three lines is a clue for "lead," the metal of the casket to be chosen. But Miss Ing is quite right in pointing out, beyond this dramatic propriety, how beautifully question and answer—which constitute the first and second sections of the lyric—are linked in sound. "With gazing fed" of the second section echoes the three rhymes of the first. And "reply, reply," which separates question and answer, provides a stressed vowel which carries over into the three rhymes of the answer "eyes—dies—lies." It is also typical of madrigal verse that the main, recurring movement of x / should be set against contrasting secondary rhythms. By the way, in this instance as in Drummond's "My thoughts hold mortal strife," which bears the title "Madrigal V," the term madrigal indicates a type of verse usually set to music in the manner of a madrigal. However, Drummond's "Madrigal V" never received a musical composition, and "Tell me where is

fancy bred" is, as a rule, performed as an accompanied solo song. The bulk of the madrigals had established the type so securely that it could be clearly grasped even when not associated with its customary music.

Throughout her discussion of lyrics from Shakespeare's plays the author takes the view that the songs are not "turns" inserted to cover a lack of action, but are integral parts of the plot, a view well known to students of the subject from Richmond Noble's *Shakespeare's Use of Song*. But beyond that Miss Ing makes several observations that deepen our understanding of Shakespeare's art. The poems are typical "music" lyrics of the Elizabethan age in that they are carefully calculated in rhythmical phrases which may be repeated when an air is repeated, or made of complex phrases carried by a recurrent movement where there is no need of stanza repetition. They are also typical in their construction, which employs stress, rhyme, assonance, alliteration, echo, so surely that form is retained even when the music is removed. Further, they are characteristic "songs" in content, full of generalized meaning, with a high proportion of abstract nouns: beauty lives with kindness, fancy is engendered in the eyes, men were deceivers ever, the rain it raineth every day, coral is made of drowned bones. These impersonal but often deeply moving generalizations occur in situations where the interest in the characters may merge with interest in the kind of experience they find themselves in. The songs embody situations and not people, yet they are relevant to people in certain situations. Perhaps a sense of the author's perception is best conveyed by concluding this train of thought in her own words, where she evaluates the bard's use of a popular model in *Twelfth Night* and *King Lear* in terms which transcend considerations of prosody only:

. . . the famous "universality" of Shakespeare's plays comes by the great and profound sense of proportion which, simultaneously, loves and admires and pities the lonely individual, and sees that though individual he is not in all his doings unique. The songs with their beautiful and shapely utterance of truisms hint the fact that the course of Shakespeare's stories is often towards the discovery that the truth in many human situations is a truism. Lear's Fool, with his echo of another fool in "When that I had and a little tiny wit," sings truths that Lear is toiling all his age to find, crying when he finds them "O, I have ta'en too little care of this."

FREDERICK W. STERNFELD

Dartmouth College

The Life and Times of Edward Alleyn. By G. L. HOSKING. London: Jonathan Cape, 1952. Pp. 285. 15s.

Mr. Hosking's book is a disappointment. It sets out to be "the first full length biography of this commanding figure," Edward Alleyn. In effect, it tells us little more than Collier did in his *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn* (1841), and not as much as Sir Walter Greg in his paper published in *Shakespeare and The Theatre* in 1927. What the author has done is to take the known facts of Alleyn's career as the pegs on which to hang a diffuse and secondhand account of "the times." Thus, after a brief statement of Alleyn's birth and parentage in Chapter I (taking up one page), we have six or seven pages of elementary chat on such subjects as the use of inns for stage-plays, the origin of the English drama (one paragraph), the distinction between popular and Court drama, the Court masque, the importance for drama of the Inns of Court, and finally the potted biography of Nicholas Udall. This distressing discursiveness last for two-

thirds of the book, and is rendered even less palatable by a bare and unnecessarily patronising style, as in:

No plays were printed before they were put on the stage. While a company was prosperous it kept a tight hand on its manuscripts. Only if adversity came were they offered to a publisher. Sometimes a hired actor would be bribed to disclose his part, and what he could remember of the parts of his fellow actors. Or a shorthand writer would be paid to take down a play, which he would do without too nice a regard for accuracy. Hence the corrupt texts of some early quartos. (P. 69.)

The latter part of the book, dealing with Alleyn more specifically, and his ventures into real estate which culminated in the foundation of the College of God's Gift, is easier to read and more informative. Here Mr. Hosking has quoted freely and interestingly from Alleyn's diaries and memo-books, his correspondence, and the accounts of the various lawsuits of this litigious man. We feel that, at last, the biography of Alleyn is being written; our regret is that it did not occur to Mr. Hosking to do this sooner.

ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH

St. Catharine's College, Cambridge

Henry VI, Parts 1, 2, and 3 (New Cambridge Shakespeare). Edited by JOHN DOVER WILSON. Cambridge University Press, 1951. Vol. I, pp. [lvi] + 222; Vol. II, pp. [liv] + 221; Vol. III, pp. [xlv] + 226. Each, \$2.50.

Once again Professor Dover Wilson has given us an extraordinarily exciting and provocative work of scholarship. And, although one may not always agree entirely and at times may even disagree violently, one is driven on, caught up by the infectious enthusiasm and singleness of purpose that has inspired all Professor Wilson's studies.

Very wisely Professor Wilson has treated the three *Henry VI* plays as parts of a single closely interrelated problem. Hence the Introduction is one long critical essay divided more or less equally among the three parts, and the study of "copy" for 2 and 3 *Henry VI* is placed in the third volume. Otherwise, however, each volume is complete in itself.

Professor Wilson's point of departure was worked out by him in an earlier essay in the fourth volume of *Shakespeare Survey* (1951), pp. 56-68, called "Malone and the Upstart Crow." He there argues, following Malone and opposing the more recent view of Professor Peter Alexander, that Greene is attacking Shakespeare not primarily as an actor, but as a plagiarist. His case, which is skillfully argued, turns on the sixteenth-century confusion between Aesop's crow and Horace's "cornicula," and on what Greene, in his over-voluminous prose and verse, says about crows and borrowed plumes. Professor Wilson's most apposite quotation from Greene will be found in his resumé of the whole argument in the Introduction to 2 *Henry VI* (p. xviii). Naturally, this return to Malone has not gone unchallenged, for it has a vital bearing on the question of the authorship of the *Henry VI* plays. But I am ready to accept Professor Wilson's interpretation for three reasons: (1) contemporary evidence and Greene's other uses of the borrowed-feathers figure support a charge of plagiarism; (2) the bitterness of Greene's attack on Shakespeare lacks proper focus if we consider it merely in reference to Shakespeare as an actor; and (3) I, like Professor Wilson, accord Greene a considerable share in the writing of all three parts of

Henry VI. This last statement, of course, places me irrevocably in the camp of those reprehensible people, the moderate disintegrators.

The second reason brings me to the whole vexed and distracting question of the authorship of the *Henry VI* trilogy, but before I take up this problem, something should be said about the order in which the three parts were composed. Professor Wilson (I, pp. xlviii-l) considers *1 Henry VI* as a later play than Parts 2 and 3, a play hastily thrown together on short notice by Greene and Nashe, left unfinished by Greene because of the scandal over *Orlando*, and completed by Shakespeare, probably with Nashe's help. In other words, he identifies the "harey the vj" which Henslowe marks "ne" on 3 March 1591/2 as *1 Henry VI*, suggesting (I, pp. xiv-xxi) that it was written in part to catch the strong contemporary interest in Essex's campaign in France and in part to capitalize on the current success of the earlier Parts 2 and 3 then playing at the Theatre with Pembroke's men (I, p. xlviii). In making this identification Professor Wilson overlooks, it seems to me, two important pieces of evidence. First, he postulates *1 Henry VI* and 2 and 3 *Henry VI* as belonging to two different and rival companies at a time just previous to the outbreak of the plague in 1592. This hypothesis ignores the fact that the persons responsible for the reconstructed "Bad" texts of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* (*The first part of the Contention* [1594] and *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* [1595]) draw upon *1 Henry VI* quite substantially in farcing out their products. This important relationship was first pointed out by Professor Alexander in his *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III* (1929), pp. 189-192; he, however, noticed only two borrowings, both from *The Contention*. Actually a full examination of the two plays reveals some fifteen clear reminiscences and establishes without question Professor Alexander's argument. The obvious familiarity of the reporters (whoever they may have been or whatever their official or unofficial status) with all three parts of *Henry VI* makes it difficult, if not impossible, to accept any theory which postulates a new and separate existence for *1 Henry VI* in 1592. Second, early 1592 as a date for the actual composition of the complete *1 Henry VI* overlooks the peculiar connection between that play and the two parts of *The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England*, published in 1591. Professor Alexander again, in his *Shakespeare's Life and Art* (1939), p. 85, makes the initial claim when he describes *The Troublesome Raigne* as a "tissue of borrowed and only half-assimilated phrases from *Henry VI*, *Richard III*, as well as *King John* itself." A detailed study of the play shows that the influence of *1 Henry VI*, both in phrase and handling of situation, is pervasive, markedly stronger than that of the other two parts and that the borrowings are of the kind which point, I should agree, to *The Troublesome Raigne* as the debtor.

In support of a later date for *1 Henry VI* Professor Wilson (I, pp. xi-xiii) argues that it was written by a "person or persons who knew all about 2 *Henry VI* and, I think, 3 *Henry VI* also," while "those two plays display complete ignorance of the drama which ostensibly precedes them." He instances, first, the confusion over Henry's age and the inconsistency of the character of Gloucester as he appears in *1 Henry VI*, where he "conducts himself like a common brawler, who outbids Winchester in sacrilegious abuse," and he contrasts this portrait with the "noble gentleman" of Part 2 (I, pp. xii-xiii). Yet he insists that the author of *1 Henry VI* (Nashe for act one) knew the earlier portrait because of the reference to the character of Gloucester's wife in I.i.39. On this matter of Gloucester, I would suggest that the disparity of the portraits is somewhat exaggerated; or, granting such disparity, is it not strange that more of the Good Duke Humphrey did not force its way into the characterization of Gloucester in

1 *Henry VI* if the author already knew the character as it was developed in Part 2? The reference to Gloucester's wife could have been added at any time up to 1623.

Professor Wilson's second line of argument concerns Talbot. "How comes it that Talbot, the hero of Part I, is never once mentioned in Part II?" The answer to this lies I think in Professor Wilson's own comment: "True, by that time 'the sweet war-man' is dramatically 'dead and rotten'" (I, p. xiii). "But," he adds, "in the first scene of Part II Gloucester gives a list of those who had shed their blood in France to preserve what Henry V had won, and overlooks the name of Talbot altogether. Is that not very strange? And is it not still stranger—quite incomprehensible indeed if the three Parts were written in the Folio order—that among the names he does cite are those of Somerset and 'brave York,' who are represented in Part I as factious traitors responsible for Talbot's death?" (I, p. xiii). If we examine Gloucester's speech, however, we find that Talbot's omission is not really strange. The only person mentioned, apart from Henry V, who is not actually *present* is the dead Duke of Bedford, Gloucester's brother, and the epithet "brave" as applied to York must simply be read dramatically as the heightening of a man who is seeking to win the sympathy of his peers. Pursuing Professor Wilson's line of argument, we might equally well ask why the elder Salisbury is not named by Gloucester.

Professor Alexander's view is at the opposite pole from Professor Wilson's. He refuses to see 1 *Henry VI* as the play referred to in Henslowe's entry for 1591/2, dating the play before 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, and insisting on Shakespeare's authorship of the whole play, as well as of 2 and 3 *Henry VI*. My own view, which I offer here with all the caution of the most embryonic hypothesis, strikes in somewhere between those of Professor Wilson and Professor Alexander. I suggest, first, that Henslowe's entry refers not to the play we know now as 1 *Henry VI*, but to either (a) a different and new play (hence Henslowe's "ne") on the Henry VI material, or (b) an old play revamped, the same perhaps as that mentioned under two below (Henslowe's "ne" can also be so interpreted). Either (a) or (b) thus represents Henslowe's attempt to "get in" on the popularity of the *Henry VI* plays then being run by Pembroke's men at the Theatre (see Wilson, II, pp. xi-xiv). Second, I suggest, that under 1 *Henry VI*, as we have it now, lies an older play with which Shakespeare originally had nothing to do. Thus those parts of 1 *Henry VI* which seem to evidence knowledge of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* do so because they form part of a revision made upon an older play after the writing of Parts 2 and 3. Third, that the absence of Talbot from Part 2 (where historically he belongs) was the result of the authors' knowledge of what the older play had already dealt with. Fourth, that the presence of inconsistencies between 1 *Henry VI* and 2 and 3 *Henry VI* must be considered the result initially of collaboration and later of somewhat careless and wholesale revision by probably two hands. And fifth, that the revision was not one, but two revisions—the first by Greene who, working on an old play in part at least his own, tacked on the linking Suffolk-Margaret-Henry marriage scenes; the second by Shakespeare, who revised all three plays as a whole, touching 1 *Henry VI* comparatively lightly in the process.

When, we may ask, did all this happen? Again with great tentativeness, I would suggest the following steps:

- (1) The original of 1 *Henry VI* about 1589-90 (very shortly before *The Troublesome Raigne*, published in 1591);
- (2) 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, not planned as direct continuations of the *Ur-1*

Henry VI, but themselves clearly a consecutive two-part play, about 1590-91;

- (3) The first revision of the *Ur-1 Henry VI*, by Greene, to fashion it into a more or less regular prologue for Parts 2 and 3, just before the break-up of the Strange-Admiral alliance in May of 1591;
- (4) The final revision of all three plays, by Shakespeare, in early 1592 (before Greene's death on 3 September 1592) for the company recently formed around Richard Burbage (see Wilson's interesting suggestion on the origin of the mysterious Pembroke company, II, pp. xii-xiv).

In the above hypothesis it will be noticed that I have postulated a first revision by Greene. This step I have felt to be necessary (however unwieldy) to account for the apparent linking nature of the Suffolk-Margaret-Henry marriage scenes (V. iii. 45-195 and V.v). Against such a view, a view shared by Professor Alexander so far as the additional nature of these scenes is concerned, there are two pieces of evidence. First, Professor Wilson (I, p. x) points out the significance of the importance given to Reignier among the followers of the Dolphin from the very beginning of the play, an emphasis not found in the chronicle sources where Reignier appears late and then only in connection with the marriage of his daughter to Henry. At first sight this looks like strong evidence against considering the introduction of the Suffolk-Margaret-Henry marriage scenes as an afterthought, but Reignier's early appearance can, I think, be accounted for in another way. In a section of their source materials, much used by them, the authors found reference to a "duke Reigner," Duke of Barre, who was present at the coronation of Charles at Rheims (Holinshed, 1808 ed., III, 166) and is described as one of "the freends of king Charles" (III, 174-175). The possibilities here for confusion are obvious and I suggest that the Reignier of *1 Henry VI* is actually a composite of these two quite different individuals. The second piece of evidence is to be found in the apparent imitation of the Suffolk-Margaret wooing scene (V. iii. 72-109) in Part Two of *The Troublesome Raigne* (ed. John Munro, scene vi, 99-121). The likeness in the two scenes lies in the extended handling of the "aside device," and cannot in itself be considered conclusive. At any rate, whatever our views about the linking and additional nature of these scenes may be, of one thing I am quite certain: they are almost entirely pure and unadulterated Greene.

Professor Wilson's handling of the equally vexed problem of authorship offers a concentrated and powerful analysis of a large body of the most diversified materials, materials already canvassed, of course, notably by H. C. Hart, Allison Gaw, Peter Alexander, Madeleine Doran, J. M. Robertson, and Boswell-Stone. But Professor Wilson has in most cases attacked the work quite independently and freshly, often with rewarding results. His main conclusions are carefully summarized in the head-note to each scene and for *1 Henry VI* he also gives a summary table in his introduction to Part I (p. xl). He sees Greene as the "plotter" of all three Parts and as the author of the greater part of the basic text itself. Nashe is called in for act one of *1 Henry VI*, a part left almost untouched by Shakespeare (I, pp. xxi-xxxi), and for bits elsewhere; and Peele inevitably hovers in the background, more markedly perhaps in Parts 2 and 3, though the Talbot scenes as usual bring Peele's name under consideration. Professor Wilson's principal contribution, it seems to me, has been to exorcise the shade of Marlowe and, following H. C. Hart, to concentrate the focus on Greene by making the case for his more or less ubiquitous presence stronger and

more persuasive than it has hitherto been. Much more might easily be added in the way of parallels with Greene's work, but I will mention only one. In the Lodge-Greene *Looking-Glass for London and England*, which is dated on biographical evidence either in 1588 or between 1589-91, the scene (? by Greene) in which Radagon repudiates his rustic parents (Malone Society, lines 1092-1229, particularly lines 1117-19, 1149-50, and 1178-81) appears to be imitated in part by the scene in *1 Henry VI* where Joan likewise repudiates her shepherd father—an action not in the sources—and in turn is cursed by him. The parallel is important, since, if we accept the indebtedness of *1 Henry VI* to *The Looking-Glass*, it gives us a terminal date for the *Ur-1 Henry VI*. The general parallel was first pointed out by J. M. Robertson in his controversial *Shakespeare Canon*, Part IV, Division I (1930), p. 82; Professor Wilson, I regret to say, never once in the course of the three Parts of *Henry VI* mentions Robertson's erratic, infuriating, but occasionally valuable work.

Of the presence of Shakespeare's hand in all three Parts Professor Wilson is in no doubt. He sees Shakespeare at work, for example, in "thirteen or fourteen out of the twenty-one scenes of the last four acts" of *1 Henry VI* (I, p. xli), and an increasingly heavier Shakespearian hand in Parts 2 and 3. In support of his views he offers a statement of what he calls "those features which I confidently look for in Shakespeare's style, whether late, middle, or early" (II, p. xx) and an analysis (III, pp. vii-xv) of the "most indisputably Shakespearian scene in *Henry VI* . . . the Temple Garden scene." While I have no doubt about Shakespeare's thorough reworking of this scene, I am not entirely convinced that there was not a basic text ready to his hand. It is unlike Shakespeare to *invent* an important historical moment such as this and the basic idea of the rose-plucking suggests more of the pretty fancifulness of a Greene or Peele than of a Shakespeare. But this reservation does not seriously affect the insight and critical value of Professor Wilson's analysis. He also claims IV.v as wholly Shakespeare's, arguing that it is a rewriting of scene vi, which it was meant to replace. The comparatively superfluous nature of scene vi was noticed by Francis Gentleman as early as 1774 and H. C. Hart endorsed his criticism, but the theory that scene v represents an alternative rewriting of scene vi is vitiated by two points. First, although Professor Wilson says that scene v is based on scene vi (I, p. 182), scene v shows independent use of the chronicles; and second, lines 28-29 in scene vi ("Wilt thou yet leave the battle, boy, and fly, / Now thou art sealed the son of chivalry?") clearly look back to Talbot's initial and unsuccessful attempt to persuade "young John" to "fly" the field in scene v.

The *Henry VI* plays do not raise any very difficult problems in the choice of a basic copy-text, especially now that the true nature of *The first part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedie* has been finally established. Professor Wilson accepts without question or even discussion the status of those plays as texts derivative from 2 and 3 *Henry VI*. Occasionally I think more use might have been made of these "bad" texts. For example: (in Part 2) at I. iii. 208 the interesting Q addition of six (not seven) lines should be quoted; at II.i, opening S.D., the Q addition "and Queene with her Hawke on her fist," is omitted; the note on IV.x.38-9 (Iden and his five men) overlooks, it seems to me, the important fact that the *Contention* reporter is reproducing what he had seen done on the stage and that Iden in Elizabethan performance did enter with his "five men" (the reference to the Cambridge editors' note is confusing since they were writing on the assumption that Q is the original of 2 *Henry VI*); at V.iii.15, on the suggestion of A. W. Pollard, Professor Wilson assigns a line to Richard which the Folio gives to Salisbury, but he fails to notice that Q gives

the line to Salisbury, thus making it difficult to accept Pollard's emendation as "clearly right." In Part 3, at IV.viii, opening S.D., the important O S.D. "Enter one with a letter to *Warwike*." is omitted; at IV.viii.32 S.D., Professor Wilson, on the suggestion of P. A. Daniel, postulates a new scene beginning with line 33, citing the evidence of the O S.D. "*Exeunt Omnes*." to support the clearing of the stage. But it is quite clear that O does not here use the "*Exeunt Omnes*." literally, since Henry himself remains to be collared by "*Edward and his train*." Daniel's comment anyway seems unnecessarily literal and hairsplitting. It should be noted, perhaps, that Professor Wilson's quotations from the "Bad Quartos" are not as accurate as they might be.

I have examined Professor Wilson's text for Part 1 only. My comments, therefore, must be understood to have reference to that play alone. Since there is but a single substantive text for 1 *Henry VI*, an editor may be expected to give that text (the Folio, 1623) the most minute and searching examination. That Professor Wilson has done so only in part will, I think, be clear from the following comments. It will also be clear that, ironically enough, Professor Wilson's greatest enemy turns out to be the old Cambridge *Shakespeare* (1891-1893), which, in its textual apparatus, misleads too frequently by appearing to be more exhaustive and authoritative than it actually is, and, by serving as the basic text-copy, too often imposes its pointing on the new text.

I have divided my comments on Professor Wilson's text and its relation to the Folio text into three categories: (1) readings concerned with punctuation; (2) readings concerned with metrics; (3) other readings and comments. In all cases, unless otherwise noted, the reading in question is unrecorded in Professor Wilson's textual notes. In the majority of cases the readings are also unrecorded in the textual notes of the old Cambridge *Shakespeare*. The line references and lemmas are based on Professor Wilson's text.

(1) *Readings concerned with punctuation.* Professor Wilson's interest in dramatic punctuation as it is often revealed in the early texts is well known and his work in restoring the original pointing, or the intention of the original pointing, has been one of the significant contributions of the New Cambridge *Shakespeare*. I have, therefore, treated this first category very fully.

I.i.59 Of loss, of slaughter and discomfiture:] The F comma after "slaughter" should be retained. See below, IV.iii.53; V.iii.22; V.v.108.

I.ii.4 Now we are victors; upon us he smiles.] The semi-colon here is from Collier (1858) by way of Cambridge. The F comma after "Victors" is preferred by a majority of editors.

II.v.65 The first-begotten and the lawful heir] F reads: "The first begotten, and the lawful Heire". The comma after "begotten" gives that word a verbal force and renders the hyphen improper. But all editors since Theobald, except Halliwell, have read "first-begotten."

III.i.1-3 premeditated lines, . . . studiously devised, . . . Gloucester? If thou] The F reading is: "premeditated Lines? . . . studiously deuis'd? . . . Gloster, if thou". Professor Wilson's reading was reached by two stages: Pope first introduced a comma after "lines" (followed by all later editors except Collier, edition of 1858), and Johnson introduced the comma after "deuis'd" and the interrogation after "Gloster." A number of editors have not accepted these emendations, most recently Professor Alexander.

IV.i.16-17 because unworthily Thou wast install'd] Following all editors from Rowe down, Professor Wilson omits the F parentheses about

"vnworthily." Surely, however, the F pointing gives a dramatic emphasis otherwise lost. Compare line 20 below, where the same treatment has been accorded to the F punctuation of "When (but in all) I was sixe thousand strong." See also V.iv.81 and V.v.76.

IV.i.137 And you, my lords, remember where we are—] The F punctuation is "Lords:" and "are;". The pointing after "are" is more or less indifferent, but the F colon after "Lords" gives weight and dramatic significance to Henry's sudden turn from the underlings, Vernon and Basset, to the great nobles. It also parallels the F pointing (preserved by Professor Wilson) in line 134.

IV.i.161 So let us still continue peace and love.] No editor, from F2 down to Professor Wilson, has retained the F comma after "peace." Rightly perhaps. But its presence should at least be noticed, since it gives a different turn to the line and justifies reading "love" as a verb; i.e., since we came hither in peace (line 160), so let us continue in peace and love each other.

IV.ii.50-51 But rather, moody, mad, and desperate stags, Turn on the bloody hounds] Professor Wilson's pointing here is in general that of most texts from F4 on; no text since F3 has used the pointing of F which reads: "moodie mad: And". Yet the F punctuation gives perfectly good sense; i.e., if we are true English deer, let us act as deer "in blood," not like cowardly "rascals," but as if we were "moody-mad" (i.e., in blood); and, as desperate stags, turn on the bloody hounds. At any rate, the F reading should certainly be recorded.

IV.iii.5 To fight with Talbot: as he marched along,] F reads: "To fight with *Talbot* as he march'd along." The F pointing has, since F2, always been emended substantially as in Professor Wilson's text. I think a good case could be made for the original, but at any rate the F punctuation should be recorded.

IV.iii.53 Lives, honours, lands and all hurry to loss.] F reads: "Liues, Honours, Lands, and all, hurrie to losse." To omit the pointing after "lands" and "all" spoils the rhetorical balance and emphasis of the line.

IV.vi.36-37 By me they nothing gain an if I stay; 'Tis but the short'ning of my life one day:] F points as "gaine," and "stay," and reads "and" for "an" (Capell). Professor Wilson takes the semi-colon after "stay" from Cambridge by way of Hudson (1852). Although the F punctuation is ambiguous, it seems to me that "and if I stay" belongs preferably to "'Tis but the short'ning."

V.iii.22 Then take my soul, my body, soul and all,] This reading, which Professor Wilson inherits from Cambridge, is manifestly bad. The F pointing is clear in intention: "Then take my soule; my body, soule, and all." See above IV.iii.53.

V.iii.50 Who art thou? say, that I may honour thee.] The F reading ("Who art thou, say? that I may honor thee.") should be recorded. Pope made the basic emendation.

V.iii.71 Confounds the tongue] Like all earlier editors Professor Wilson fails to note that F indicates the awkward ellipsis at the beginning of the line ("that it" being understood) by reading "'Confounds."

V.iii.51 Chaste and immaculate in very thought,] The F places a comma after "Chaste," which, since Pope, has been omitted by all editors; its

retention gets rid of the more obvious tautology in "Chaste and immaculate" by making "Chaste" refer to the state of virginity mentioned in line 50.

V.v.108 But I will rule both her, the king and realm.] The omission of the F comma after "King" weakens the cumulative effect of this concluding line.

(2) *Readings concerned with metrics.*

The readings to which I call attention in this category are individually of comparatively minor significance. I feel, however, that in an edition of the very real scholarly pretensions of the New Cambridge even such minor deviations from the copy-text should be recorded. To do so in the Notes would be cumbersome; but a separate listing of these and similar readings, with a detailed statement of editorial policy with respect to them, would not be space-consuming and would add substantially to the scholarly authority of the text presented.

I.ii.32 *enteréd*] The F reads: "entred," an ambiguous form. Professor Wilson here, and at IV.vi.18 and V.iv.58, analogous cases, employs the accented form in such a way as to secure what seems to him a more metrical line. But at III.ii.20 and 25 he reads F "entred" as "entered" and at III.i.192 F "festred" as "festered."

I.iii.20 *commandment*] The F "commandement," a form needed by the line metrically, should at least be recorded, if not adopted.

I.iv.65 *battery*] The F reading "Batt'ry" is not recorded. See also IV.vi.54 (F "desp'rate") and V.v.24 (F "Marg'et").

I.v.24 *driv'n*] Professor Wilson here adopts a reading not used since Johnson (1765). The F reading "driven" is not recorded. See also II.v.10 (F "burthening"), III.iv.38 (F "knowest"), IV.i.189 (F "shouldering"), V.iii.188, 195 (F "mayest") and V.iii.190 (F "wonderous"). All these F readings, except those at V.iii.188, 195 and V.iii.190, appear in various edited texts.

I.vi.2 *Rescuéd* is Orleans from the English:] As Professor Wilson notes, F₂ tried to patch this line by adding the word "wolves" at the end. He rejects F₂ and regularizes the line by using an accented form of the F "Rescu'd," without, however, noting that he too has patched the line. Actually the line needs no patching if we allow "English" as a trisyllable, a stretching of the accent not uncommon in Elizabethan verse.

II.ii.11 *happened*] This is the first of a number of examples in which Professor Wilson alters the accented form of the F reading (here "happened") and silently substitutes the unaccented form. See II.iii.23 (F "writhled"), II.iii.69 (F "gathered"), II.iv.99 (F "ripenede"), III.ii.115 (F "recovered"), IV.ii.38 (F "withered"), IV.v.48 (F "severed"), IV.vi.15 (F "rescued"), IV.vii.23 (F "hard favoured"), V.i.53 (F "delivered"), V.iii.138 (F "wooded"), V.iv.38 (F "issued").

III.i.49 *Unreverent Gloster!*] The F reads "*Glocester*" here for the first time. Professor Wilson here reads "Gloster" for the only time, his regular form being "Gloucester." The error arises from following the Cambridge text, since it too, and here only, reads "Gloster." The F Professor Wilson states that the F text has hitherto read "Gloster." reading may be taken to indicate a trisyllabic accentuation. The note to III.iv, opening S.D. (p.168), therefore, needs correction where

(3) *Other readings and comments.*

- II.iii.131 halcyon days] The F reading "Halcyons days" ought at least to be recorded since "Halcyons" as a possible form for the singular can be supported by contemporary usage in Greene (Grosart, IV, 36). Even apart from this, the F reading is defensible as a genitive form.
- II.ii.20 and V.iv.49 Joan of Arc] As Professor Wilson notes the F spellings here are "*Ioane of Acre*" and "*Ione of Aire*" respectively. He also shows that Boswell-Stone thrice "corrects" Holinshed's "Acre" to "Arc" and suggests that the F form "Acre" may simply be a printer's error for "Aire." Since so far as I can discover there are no uses of the form "Arc" in English before this very questionable one in *1 Henry VI*, a modern text should, I suspect, read "Joan of Aire."
- IV.i.4 S. D. *the Governor kneels*] The S.D. should follow line 3.
- V.iii.68 Hast not a tongue? is she not here?] Professor Wilson does not record the frequently adopted (most recently by Professor Alexander) F2 reading of the end of the line: "Is she not heere thy prisoner?"
- V.iii.84, 86, 88] I can see no good reason for not marking these speeches of Suffolk as asides, particularly if the two following speeches are so marked.

As usual Professor Wilson's notes are informative and concentrated, giving, within the limits imposed by the scope of the edition, an astonishing amount of fresh and pertinent comment. Again I confine my remarks to Part I.

P.117, I.i.141: The emendation credited to Johnson belongs to the 1757 edition of Theobald upon which Johnson based his text of this play. P.130, I.iv.25: The F reading cited should be "got's." P.146, II.iv.65: The emendation credited to Malone belongs to Capell; Malone reads "anger,—". P.150, II.v.35: The change assigned to Malone and Cambridge belongs to Rowe. P.156, III.i.85 S.D.: The S.D. assigned to Malone belongs to Capell. P.162, III.ii.55: Professor Wilson mistakes the person referred to as "half dead." It is Bedford, not Talbot. P.167, III.iii.47: Warburton's emendation "lovely" is wrongly assigned to Johnson. P.169, III.iv.13: Professor Wilson says that the line is "metrically defective." But surely the F spelling "Gloucester" for its more usual form "Gloster" indicates that the name is to be given trisyllabic accentuation. P.172, IV.i.48: The emendation assigned to Cambridge belongs to F2. P.201, V.iv.1 S.D.: The S.D. here assigned to Cambridge belongs to Malone, who took his form basically from Capell, who first placed the entry of Joan and her Father after line 1. P.204, V.iv.93 S.D.: The credit for moving the S.D. belongs to Pope and the form is basically that of Capell. P.207, V.v.60: The emendation credited to C.B. Young was anticipated in the Long MS. (18th-century).

Like most reviewers who undertake a detailed criticism I fear that I may have failed to avoid the principal pitfall of such a method: to magnify the debatable detail and to slight the more important contributions and larger merits of the work. If such is indeed the case, let me restore the focus by saying that I consider the present three volumes as a brilliant addition to the New Cambridge *Shakespeare*, a publication which I have always looked upon as the most original, stimulating, and, from certain points of view, the most important edition ever to be published.

G. BLAKEMORE EVANS

University of Illinois

Italian Scholarship in Renaissance England. By R. C. SIMONINI, JR. (The University of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature, No. 3). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952. Pp. xviii, + 126. \$5.00.

The influence not of Giordano Bruno but of John Florio is paramount in this study: it is concerned with the men who taught the Italian tongue in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An introductory chapter on the background, a concluding one on Shakespeare's and Jonson's debts to these men flank the survey of seven individuals, chief among whom are Florio and de Sainliens (Hollyband).

The concluding years of Elizabeth's reign and the early years of James were the golden age of Italian studies: the language was taught in a practical way, with the view to the convenience of travellers: proverbs and homely sayings abound in the conversation manuals, which give amusing glimpses of ordinary domestic life. Yet Italian was the study of noblemen; Florio, a man of learning and social gifts; and language teachers joined in the life of literary London, to which they made their own contribution. Perhaps the most distinguished of the long line—he is not mentioned here, since he taught only privately—was the poet Andrew Marvell.

In his *Second Frutes*, Florio aspired to teach not only language, but manners and conversation in the fashion of the courtesy books. For the wealthy, a visit to Italy was a necessary part of their education. The wider influences of Italy, in the realm of manners, politics, the study of the classics, the fine arts, the theater, and poetic theory are not touched upon here: nor does the author explore even such related fields as the manuals of letter writing, many of which were modelled on the Italian. It is unfortunate too that he was not able to see K. T. Butler's study of Giacomo Castelvetro (in *Italian Studies*, No. V, Cambridge University Press, 1950.) This would have given him an eighth figure for his little group and have vindicated the University of Cambridge from his charge of indifference to Italian (p. 32).

It would be ungracious however to end on a note of criticism: for within its strictly defined limits, this little work gives a clear account of the foundations upon which the English study of Italian was built at a period when the Italians led the whole of Europe in scholarship, commerce, and the fine arts.

M. C. BRADBROOK

Girton College, Cambridge

Readings on the Character of Hamlet: 1661—1947. By CLAUDE C. H. WILLIAMSON. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1950. Pp. [xix] + 783. \$10.50.

No other figure created by the imagination of a great author has inspired as vast a body of criticism as Hamlet. Therefore an intelligently selected anthology compiled from this abundance of material would be useful not only to students, but also to critics and to playgoers. It is difficult, however, to discern any useful purpose that Mr. Williamson's anthology can serve; it can only multiply uncertainties and confusion for everyone except the specialist in Shakespeare scholarship, and he would have no need for such a book.

Excellent and valuable anthologies may be compiled for a variety of purposes, but there are two related questions which the compiler must constantly ask himself. First, "For exactly what sort of readers am I making this collection?" And second, "What principles shall govern my selection?" Mr. Williamson's book reveals that he did not arrive at any consistent answer to either of these questions, if, indeed, he ever asked them.

Was the anthology designed for serious students of Shakespeare? That can scarcely be true, for the selections have not been made according to any principle that would make the book valuable to that type of reader. The extracts have not uniformly been chosen because they represent, among the many analyses of Hamlet, those judgments most firmly grounded on sound scholarship and critical discernment; instead the foolish and bizarre is mixed with the sane and thoughtful, and Mr. Williamson always refrains from exercising his editorial privilege of branding folly when it appears. Neither can the book meet the tests of a satisfactory variorum collection of Hamlet criticism, designed to give a faithful portrait of the shifting trends in critical opinion throughout the past three hundred years. Furthermore, the brevity of Mr. Williamson's extracts from each critic—nine pages seems to be his arbitrary limit—prevents his doing justice to the evidence by which a particular opinion is supported. For example, A. C. Bradley's essay on *Hamlet* in his *Shakespearean Tragedy* has its 95 pages represented by a fragment of 8 pages; Granville-Barker's 329 by only 7; Dover Wilson's 300 by 3; E. E. Stoll's 50 by 8. Schücking's *The Meaning of Hamlet* fares better statistically; its 186 pages rate a sample of 9. But the best percentage is achieved by Lily B. Campbell's *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*: 9 out of 38, or a "batting average" of .236.

The figures I have cited concerning works of *Hamlet* criticism that most scholars would list among the dozen best known and most influential published during the last fifty years serve to demonstrate the essential defect of Mr. Williamson's anthology: in his zeal for variety he seeks to represent three hundred different authors and thereby debars himself from adequately and accurately representing even one. Any collection gathered upon the principles he has followed—or rather with the lack of any guiding principle—can be nothing more than a random assemblage of snippets taken out of logical context—an anthology of disjointed obiter dicta in which the foolish opinions are indiscriminately mingled with the wise.

Even the dilettante, the only conceivable type of reader for whom this book could have been designed, will soon become appalled at the bewilderment induced by the chaotic jumble Mr. Williamson places before him, and justly complain that the author overlooked one unifying principle that would have reduced the collection to some sort of intelligible order, and could at least have made the book amusing—that of limiting himself to selecting and humorously exposing the many absurd comments that *Hamlet* has inspired.

FRANCIS R. JOHNSON

Stanford University

A Tribute to George Coffin Taylor. Studies and Essays Chiefly Elizabethan, by His Students and Friends. Edited by ARNOLD WILLIAMS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952. Pp. [xviii] + 213. \$5.00.

A *festschrift* volume pleasant to hand and eye, fourteen essays of substantial merit, and an ingratiating framework of tribute in prose and verse to a warm, human personality—that is what this book can offer. George Coffin Taylor, Kenan Professor of English (Emeritus) at the University of North Carolina, author of numerous scholarly books and articles, and a member of the eminent Advisory Board of The Shakespeare Association of America, is hardly in need of introduction in Shakespearian circles. But strangers to the man himself will be delighted to meet the spare figure that smiles at them from the frontispiece, swaps tall tales with them from the introductory ap-

preciation ("Against the Current," by Sallie Sewell and Arnold Williams), and instructs them in the ways of hogs (South Carolina variety) and men. The book is in all respects a fitting tribute to a non-academic academician and splendid teacher, one who "always put men above books."

The essays in the volume fall into two main groups, slightly overlapping, and reflect Professor Taylor's major academic interests: a Shakespeare—drama series and a Milton—seventeenth-century series. At the head of the first stands Hardin Craig's "A Cutpurse of the Empire," sub-titled "On Shakespeare Cosmology." Craig's article is an application to Shakespearian drama, especially revenge-drama (and chiefly *Hamlet*), of the implications for order and degree in the then accepted notion of the Great Chain of Being. "This great system or rubric for thinking about the world and understanding it is basal to *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*. It affects also our interpretation of *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*" (p. 8). In Craig's reading, Hamlet's revenge is a duty imposed upon him as God's legal deputy to restore to proper balance the various dislocations of order and degree effected through the usurpation of Claudius.

Robert M. Smith contributes "A Good Word for Oswald." The good word, not altogether new but here re-emphasized, is—*fidelity*.

W. J. Olive's "*Sejanus* and *Hamlet*" argues the thesis that Shakespeare, having acted in Jonson's *Sejanus*, carried over into the writing of *Hamlet* (at least in its published form) something of the distinctive satiric tone and also something of the imagery of cosmetics from Jonson's play.

Three of the essays deal with non-Shakespearian drama. Beach Langston's "Marlowe's *Faustus* and the *Ars Moriendi* Tradition" is an elaborately documented demonstration, solidly set in contemporary illustrations, that Marlowe in the final scenes of *Faustus* was deliberately using some and rejecting other portions of the well established *ars moriendi* pattern. George F. Sensabaugh, "Platonic Love in Shirley's *The Lady of Pleasure*," sees in the contrast between the two pairs of "lovers," Aretina and Kickshaw and Celestina and Lord A., "more than a satire upon manners and morals in town and court; it is also an exposition of Platonic love and its effects upon those who practise its rites and live by its tenets" (p. 177). Shirley's use of the theme, Sensabaugh thinks, may have been the result of a deliberate bid for court approval. Joseph T. McCullen, Jr., in "The Functions of Songs Aroused by Madness in Elizabethan Drama" surveys some seventy-odd lyrics to "show that songs aroused by madness in Elizabethan [and Stuart] drama were used to promote dramatic action, to enhance comic and satiric effects, and to heighten tragic emotions" (p. 195). Though his field is the drama at large within the period, naturally some of his illustrations are drawn from Shakespeare—notably from *Hamlet* and *Lear*.

Two essays somewhat outside the main thematic lines of the collection—though certainly not outside the range of Professor Taylor's interests—are Albert H. Buford's "History and Biography: the Renaissance Distinction" and Arthur Palmer Hudson's "The Impact of Folklore on American Poetry." The first examines analytically the pertinent statements to be found in North's *Plutarch* (1579), Haywood's *Life and raigne of King Henrie III* (1599), Bacon's *Advancement* (1605), and Bolton's *Hypercritica* (c. 1618) and points toward a growing interest in biography as a separate branch of historical writing. The second attempts "to show the point at which American poetry grows conscious of itself as American and of its subjects, its aims, and its art as American, and to survey some of the results" (p. 132). The conclusion reached is that "from the beginning, folklore has been one of the main ingredients of American poetry" (p. 146).

Heading the second main series of essays is Edward G. Cox's "The Compleat Angler of a Cromwellian Trooper," a delightfully personal and unpretentious account of Richard Franck's *Northern Memoirs Calculated for the Meridian of Scotland* (1658), a deliberate rival to Walton's *Angler*. Without pedantry Cox manages to introduce much bibliographical information on seventeenth-century piscatorial lore; and his genial blend of observant analysis and urbane reflection makes his essay an ideal contribution to this particular volume.

In "Proper Names in Milton: New Annotations," D. T. Starnes continues to plow a field which he has of late tilled with remarkable effectiveness. On the proposition "that the reference books, especially the lexicons and dictionaries known to Milton and his contemporaries, are often the best guides to the author's meaning" (p. 60), he examines twenty-one proper names occurring in Milton's poetry and demonstrates the adequacy, for annotation of Milton's text, of the entries in such reference works as Calepine's *Dictionarium* (1502), R. Stephanus' *Thesaurus* (1531), Elyot's *Dictionary* (1538), C. Stephanus' *Dictionarium* (1553), etc. While the reader may find it impossible to escape the conviction of Starnes's individual demonstrations, he may nevertheless balk at the ridiculous picture of a young Milton scurrying off to consult the Etienues or Calepine, or, blind, delegating the task to an unwilling assistant, before setting upon paper those images and words which posterity was not willingly to let perish. Even a plow-horse, Professor Starnes should be reminded, can be worked to death.

R. C. Simonini's "John Florio, Scholar and Humanist" presents Florio as "the *uomo universale* of the English Renaissance: translator, teacher, secretary, lexicographer and encyclopedist, stylist, interpreter, book collector, philologist, and philosopher" (p. 81). But when each of these aspects of his undeniably multifarious activities has been passed in review, the reader may still wonder whether Florio was "one of the foremost humanists of his time" (p. 81)—or merely a gifted Jack-of-all-trades and master of none.

With a certain amount of high-class double-talk (in his usual accomplished polyglot manner) Don Cameron Allen presents "The Double Journey of John Donne," wherein he explains why, in his opinion, Donne for artistic reasons abandoned the over-pretentious and uncongenial scheme of his *Metempsychosis: Poema Satyricon* in favor of a simpler *iter spirituale*, the second "Progress of the Soule." The essence of the argument is thus stated by the author: "Though the pre-texts of both poems are essentially the same, they are as far apart as heaven and hell; in a certain sense, they are heaven and hell. The pre-text of the journey of a soul through human history was, I suspect, repugnant to Donne's mature sensibilities and intellectual receptivities; that of the soul's journey to God was not" (p. 93).

William Riley Parker's "Notes on the Chronology of Milton's Latin Poems" is frankly described by the author as "a fresh attempt to *conjecture* [my italics] the dates of composition—hence, in some instances, the autobiographical significance—of ten of Milton's Latin poems and one of his three poems in Greek" (p. 113). Most elaborate, and perhaps most important, of the arguments are those that would place the composition of *Ad Patrem* between September 29 and November 29 of 1634. Among so much varied and intricate reasoning it is difficult and possibly pointless to generalize beyond remarking that Parker's arguments in the main tend (1) to exonerate Milton of *intentional* misdating and (2) to support the theory of substantially chronological arrangement of the poems in both the 1645 and the 1673 volumes.

The final essay, Nathaniel H. Henry's "Milton's Last Pamphlet: Theocracy and Intolerance," is fundamentally a discussion of *Of True Religion, Heresy, and Schism* (1673). Taking issue with Masson's observation that between *Areopagitica* and this final pamphlet Milton's conception of tolerance and of heresy seems to have suffered shrinkage into rigidity and narrowness, Henry stoutly demonstrates that Milton's conception has undergone no change at all—that it has always been theocratic, Protestant, anti-Catholic. But, as Henry in fairness points out, Milton was not alone in this illiberal "rigidity": all the thought of his time was thus crippled by partisan and partial conceptions of tolerance.

If, at some future spare moment in his unleisured "retirement," Professor Taylor should disengage himself long enough from the cultivation of his hogs and the subdivision of real-estate to glance through this volume, he cannot fail to see in it—as we do not fail to see—the sincere and affectionate regard which he has inspired in the hearts of his students and colleagues.

JOHN LEON LIEVSAY

University of Tennessee

The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. Edited by GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE. BOSTON: Ginn and Company, n. d. Pp. [xx] + 298. \$.60.

This is a reissue, with paper covers, reduced margins, and whiter paper, of the edition which appeared in 1939; the text is that of Kittredge's one-volume *Complete Works of Shakespeare*, 1936. The Textual Notes and the Glossorial Index have been omitted, but Kittredge's Introduction and his copious Notes are retained. The Notes are conservative, display common sense and a long familiarity with the text, and in interpretation draw frequently on Shakespeare's own work and the work of his contemporaries. The volume is well worth its modest price; and a popular text edited with sound scholarship in a currently favored format is a venture that deserves every success.

RICHARD H. PERKINSON

St. Louis, Missouri

The Development of English Humor. Parts I and II. By LOUIS CAZAMIAN. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1952. Pp. [x] + 422. \$6.

To define *humor* is risky business; to dissect it is fatal; and any explanation of what a "sense of humor" consists in is damning. All of these processes lay one open to an easily substantiated charge of being devoid of humor oneself, or at best of having no appreciation for individuality. Humor is so personal a thing; to appreciate it requires both an intellectual and an emotional rapport or accord. Professor Cazamian has avoided most of these pitfalls; he studies the development of humor, the ambiguities of the word, and the psychological conditioning of the English mind to paradox and pleasantry from the days of the Anglo-Saxons to the end of the seventeenth century. When necessary he can define and analyse and explain, but he does so briefly, and he is essentially the historian not the philosopher. Professor Cazamian's survey is first of humor without a name, then of the name and its fortunes in English literature from *Beowulf* to Burton and Addison. For him humor is "not every kind and aspect of the comic, but a province within that empire," nor is it simply that which causes laughter. Properly speaking, *humor* is not simple; it is the product of mental complexity which was not widely diffused until the Renaissance, and

which is not too common still. In the course of time the value of the word *humor* has been loose and shifting, and it is the thesis of this book—if so informal and graceful a book may be said to have a thesis—that “the growing self analysis of the modern mind, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, produced the proper notion of humor, [and] language in order to name it stamped an older word with a new value.” It was not until the late seventeenth century that “humor,” “humorous,” and “humorist” were associated with mirth and fun and pleasantry instead of the older senses of bias, eccentricity, crookedness of mind, peculiarity, or—at best—originality. Today “a humorist is primarily a man with an eye for the potential fun of life; but the fun in which he specializes is that which consists in being apparently impervious to fun.” Thus realism, detachment, and an intellectual mastery over one’s feelings are among the conditions of humor.

For our purposes here, Shakespeare’s humor is the prime concern. To Professor Cazamian Shakespeare was “the lord of human life, with all its incentives to the wistful smile of the myriad-minded observer.” His range of life and character is infinitely richer than that of any author before or since, and his range of humor, therefore, remains unsurpassed. He did not concentrate on any key or aspect, like Sterne or Lamb, for instance, but had them all at his command. Professor Cazamian’s three chapters on Shakespeare correspond with the three groups of plays which make up his dramatic work, and they trace the development in limited scope of a great adventurer in human nature.

The first group of dramas (*Henry VI* to *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1590-1596) reveals the playwright as the gentle mocker at Italianism and similar affectations, the discoverer of irony, the creator and enjoyer of clowns and foolery, the realistic explorer of popular mirth and paradox. *Love’s Labor’s Lost* is a brilliant object-lesson in complacent, self-destructive excess of overingenious thought and far-fetched expression, a satire which is not bitter but gentle. The reasonable humorist who sets up the standard is Shakespeare himself; the character through whom he speaks is Berowne. Bottom’s magnificent self-satisfaction “raises him to the quality of a type—that of the imperviousness to humor that makes us tingle with humorous joy.” With clear self-realization Richard of Gloucester plays a sinister game animated by a spirit of cynical derision. Robin Goodfellow’s mischief and his quick perception make him

the very symbol of the ironical duality, the sense of contrasted planes from which the humorous meaning of [*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*] develops. Puck’s roguish tricks bring out the relativity of all things human, not excluding the enthusiasms of the heart; they liberate the spirit of disillusioned serenity that broods over the errors of the enchanted night and over the single-mindedness of the bewitched lovers.

A similar irony and “a vivid sense of relativity are Mercutio’s weapons in youth’s battles of wit and words.” By 1596 Shakespeare had explored practically the whole range of the humorous.

The second group of plays, from *King John* to *The Merry Wives* (1597-1601), represents the period of the greatest comedies and of the great jesters, Touchstone and Feste. Shakespeare’s earlier vein is continued, but in his treatment both of the butts of humor and of the humorists themselves (i. e., those characters who represent the realistic norm) there is more intellectuality, more satire, and more of an infusion of wit. Rosalind is the merriest of Shakespeare’s heroines, the most sprightly, and the most sensible. Though loving she does not sentimentalize, and her epigrams are sparkling in their realistic observation.

Yet at times she is sadly disappointing; her rebuke of Phebe (III. v. 35-63) is harsh and entirely destitute of humor. Beatrice is half a shrew, and Benedick a cynic; indeed, this famous pair, "standing as they do for dazzling verbal cleverness, . . . represent, when all is said, the sterility of purely mocking wit and the futility of the mere gift of gab." Portia, "a soul of delightful sprightliness sobered with serious reason," is nevertheless on two or three occasions guilty of teasing, and in the ring episode, "perhaps abuses the advantage her cleverness gives her over her husband." In *Touchstone* satire is tempered with indulgence. In *Feste* the spirit of humor is the animating principle of his life; "he stands not only for the freedom of an unattached mind, but for a supple, unprejudiced perception of life as a tangled web of pleasures and pains." *Falstaff* is Shakespeare's greatest humorous achievement; in one way just a glorified example of a Jonsonian "humor" and the traditional bragging and lying soldier, in another the supreme humorist who is himself a brilliant representative of humor in being, the master of the "jest with a sad brow," full of reality, paradox, incongruity, irresponsibility, and self-mockery.

The third group of plays, from *Hamlet* to *Henry VIII* (1601-1613), represents a darkening tone, a tinge of the bitter and the sardonic, and a more biting cynicism, leading up eventually, in *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*, to serenity, a happy lightness of heart, and an acceptance of life as it is. It is here, perhaps, that Professor Cazamian is disadvantageously influenced by the older criticism of Dowden and others, especially when he apparently accepts an autobiographical interpretation of dramatic phenomena.

It is obviously impossible to sample a work of this kind fairly; enough has been said and quoted, however, to indicate how trenchant, fresh, and stimulating Professor Cazamian's observations are, even when one is inclined to disagree with him. With his central thesis, however, there can be no disagreement: Shakespeare's humor is "an emanation from the deepest core of his personality." It is the "effluence of a great mind keenly aware of the infinite contradictions of life and willing to put up with things as they are while discreetly smiling at their incongruities." And, if one may similarly judge the man from his book, the same is probably also true of Professor Cazamian.

Chapters I-V (through p. 99) of the present work are a republication of *The Development of English Humor. Part I: From the Earliest Times to the Renaissance* (Macmillan, 1930), with new sectional headings and more complete and scholarly footnote references, one or two of which have been brought up to date. Chapters IX-XI (pp. 180-307) are in substance a reworking of the author's *L'Humour de Shakespeare* (Paris, 1945). But the book is still a torso left tantalizingly incomplete. The last chapter, entitled "The Critical Realization: A Prospect" (pp. 387-413), like a hurried lecture at the end of a course, covers all of English literature from Sir Thomas Browne to the late eighteenth century, and leaves the whole nineteenth and twentieth centuries untouched. Even so, it is concerned solely with the semantic distinctions of the critics. It is to be regretted that the events of World War II delayed the completion of Professor Cazamian's studies and obliged him to cut down his former plan to more modest lines. As it is, at least one reader feels that he has attended a series of very pleasant, if not profound, lectures which the professor did not have time to finish before the end of term. And, like the student whose instructor hadn't time to finish *Macbeth*, he will always wonder how the story came out. He looks forward to a third, a fourth, and a fifth part.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

New York University

Shakespearian Comedy. By S. C. SEN GUPTA. Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. [xii] + 288. \$3.50.

This book, printed in India, and first published in 1950, has apparently just been released in this country. It is the work of a scholarly Indian holding the degree of Ph.D. and filling the chair of English Literature at Presidency College, an institution affiliated to the University of Calcutta. Professor Gupta is widely read in Shakespearian literature, especially in contemporary criticism, but he seems unaware, or regardless, of the source studies which so often throw light on Shakespeare's method and purpose. A striking instance of this occurs in his denunciation of the casket story in *The Merchant of Venice* as "the weakest element in the drama" (p. 130). This story, however, is Shakespeare's deliberate substitution for the immoral trick practised on her suitors by the Lady of Belmont in the Italian novella, the direct source of the play, and it is the means Shakespeare uses to transform the crafty siren of the novella into the noble lady of the play. The choice among the caskets depends not upon luck, as Gupta (p. 130) suggests, but upon the character of the chooser, and Bassanio's reasoned choice of the leaden casket proves him a proper husband for Portia.

More important than his acquaintance with Shakespearian criticism is the author's loving familiarity with Shakespeare's work. He brightens his pages with frequent quotations, but at times a reliance upon a tricky memory causes him, to use a slang phrase, to "pull a boner." I was amazed to hear that Shylock complains of Jessica's sleeping and snoring (p. 142). Such a habit seemed so unlikely on the part of the lively Jessica that I checked the passage, II.v.5, and found, as I had suspected, that Shylock is complaining not of his daughter, but of his lazy servant, Launcelot. "Verify your quotations" is a warning that might be addressed to Professor Gupta, as indeed to other critics.

A rapid summary of the contents may serve to show the range and the limitations of this book. A first chapter, "The Nature of the Comic," aims at "a working definition of comedy" which, the Preface says, "runs like a thread through the succeeding portions of the book." I am not sure that the long argument establishes "a working definition." From a statement (p. 11), repeated in varying forms on pp. 202, 209-210, and 225, it appears that the "essence of comedy" consists in an "interplay between the real and the unreal." This seems a truly Oriental conception, a supposition strengthened by the author's references (p. 11), to "the Vedantic view of reality," and to "Sanskrit writers of aesthetics." From this beginning one might expect a novel Oriental study of Shakespearian comedy, but such is not the case; for the most part the author is engaged in controversy with modern English criticism.

The second chapter gives a hasty sketch of English comedy from the beginning; the third, "The Comic in Shakespeare," presents a general survey of the poet's development, anticipating at times a later and fuller treatment of individual plays in later chapters. A chronological study of Shakespeare's art as a comic dramatist opens with a chapter, "Early Comedies." Among them he includes *The Taming of the Shrew*, an error I believe, for Shakespeare's skill in handling his source here shows him to have outgrown his prentice period. I was, however, glad to note that he rejects the heresy, promulgated by Alexander and others, that *A Shrew* is a Bad Quarto of Shakespeare's play; he states positively that the two are separate and distinct plays. The chapter, "Middle Comedies," from *The Merchant of Venice* through *Twelfth Night*, stresses the predominance in this period of character over plot, and it is the study of character that especially appeals to the author. The following chapter, "Dark Come-

dies," is, I think, less successful. To introduce a study of *Measure for Measure* with the remark that it may be called "a treatise on bawdry" is likely to prejudice any reader who has outgrown Victorian conventions. On the other hand his treatment of *Troilus and Cressida* as a "discussion play" dealing with permanent moral values throws more light on that perplexing comedy than has been given by some other modern critics.

It is hard in the brief analysis, in "Comedy in Tragedy," to discover the comic element which he finds in the characters of Hamlet and of Iago. He is more successful with the Fool in *Lear* and with the Porter in *Macbeth*; the Fool's vision of life is at once "oracular" and "abnormal"; to the Porter "Hell has become comical, because its terrors are to him non-existent." The chapter, "Shakespeare's Final Period," presents the view that here at last Destiny appears to the poet not as a "malign force, but as saviour and deliverer." In *Cymbeline* this beneficent force is symbolized by the apparition of Jupiter; in *The Winter's Tale* by the oracle of Apollo and the choral speech of Time; in *The Tempest* Destiny is incarnate in the character of Prospero. The "interplay between reality and unreality" in which we have been told "the secret of comedy," p. 225, consists, is visible in all these plays, most notably in *The Tempest*.

The book ends with an elaborate analysis of the character of Falstaff. In it Falstaff is presented as a "creative artist" who actually lives in the unreal world of his creation. His fall is due to his attempt to thrust this dream world into the world of reality represented by the newly crowned king. Here Falstaff "proves false to his creed and pays for the lapse with his life." This seems a new conception of Falstaff's character; it is, perhaps, nearer Shakespeare's own idea than the view of sentimentalists who represent him dying of a broken heart after his rejection by his former play-fellow.

This survey of the contents reveals some limitations in a work offering a general survey of Shakespearean comedy. In the chapter on the tragedies there is no mention of the three Roman plays, but certainly comic elements and characters appear in all three, especially in *Coriolanus*. A chapter on the Histories is wanting to complete this study. A thread of comedy runs through them from the *Henry VI* trilogy to *Henry V*, yet apart from a brief reference to Jack Cade, pp. 69-70, no character from them is singled out for consideration. The Histories constitute an essential part of Shakespeare's work, and his treatment of comedy in them deserves careful consideration.

One wonders a little as to the audience to which this book is addressed. The chapters may originally have been given as lectures; the first reads as if it might have been the professor's inaugural. It would certainly have impressed the listeners with the speaker's wide reading in Western philosophy. The keen analysis of characters in various plays may well have sent his students to reading Shakespeare for themselves, a consummation devoutly to be wished. Yet it is doubtful whether the author's treatment of Shakespeare, based as it is upon his rather Oriental definition of comedy, will appeal strongly to Western readers. We are more interested today in text-criticism, in stage presentation, and in the poetic-symbolic values of the plays than in somewhat old fashioned character analysis.

A word needs to be said as to the editing, or rather of the lack of editorial supervision, of the book. It is not an editor's business to correct an author's vocabulary, but it is surely his duty to prevent patent errors in the MS. from appearing in print. It is startling to find that there are two Chapter Fours, pp. 82, 129, and no Chapter Five in the text. In the notes, to be sure, a Chapter Five appears in the proper place, rather to the embarrassment of a reader who turns

to the notes from the text. The notes themselves are sometimes puzzling. The author refers more than once to Dowden; the first mention of his name, p. 50, sends one to the note, p. 276, where one finds only *op. cit.* No work by Dowden has yet been cited; one must wait till a later reference, p. 123, sends one again to the notes, p. 277, to discover the title of the *op. cit.* The Index is unsatisfactory; the second part, "Shakespeare's Works," includes the names of characters as well as of plays. In a sense, no doubt, the characters *are* Shakespeare's works, but it is surprising to find among them an Alfonso who does not appear in any of his plays, while the names of Dr. Caius and of Sir Hugh Evans are omitted. Misprints are bound to appear in any book, but there are misprints that at once catch and offend the eye. The name of the Italian novelist, well-known to all Shakespearian students, should not be given as *Bondello*, p. 52. This name, by the way, does not appear at all in the Index. A phrase in a famous Wordsworth poem should not be disturbed by the strange spelling, "burthern." Grammatical errors should have been corrected: *inamorata*, p. 84, for example, is not a feminine plural, and "means which helps," p. 182, is bad syntax. Uncorrected errors of this sort are perhaps due to the way in which the book has reached the American public, yet one feels that somewhere between Calcutta and New York editorial supervision might have wiped them out; it is regrettable that it has not done so.

THOMAS MARC PARROTT

Princeton University

Shakespeare's Tragedies. By G. B. HARRISON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. 278. \$3.00.

Besides an introduction on Shakespearian Tragedy as a whole and an Epilogue, this book has separate chapters each dealing with one of the eleven tragedies, *Troilus and Cressida* being substituted for *Cymbeline* of the First Folio list. Four of the chapters were delivered as lectures at the University of Toronto in 1947, and adaptation for delivery appears agreeably in the plan of each chapter: the story of each play and extended quotations take considerable space—with *Julius Caesar*, for example, more than half; explanatory and critical comments are interspersed in the narrative account. The style makes for easy reading, and the discussion is enlivened with contemporary touches. Thus we are told, "The stage directions in the text give [Ophelia] a magnificent funeral—in the best Hollywood tradition"; "The same kind of disillusion [as in *Troilus and Cressida*] was obvious in the literature—poetry and prose—directly generated by the First World War"; in comment on Dr. Faustus, "[College professors] do not often solemnly conjure up the Devil in smoke and sulphur, but we welcome him warmly when he comes in the guise of a publisher with a fat contract for a college textbook or as a Government official with a subsidized request for research in the destructive power of atomic energy." There are few definite references to other studies of tragedy or of the plays. Thus the book is obviously intended for general readers rather than for scholars; it is excellently suited for this purpose.

However scholars will find the author's comments worth looking for. Not those on how several of the plays were originally given on the Elizabethan stage; those are misleading because of Harrison's uncritical acceptance of recent theories of alternation in the use of its various playing places. These theories require the assumption of numerous stage directions for which there is no authority in the original texts and which are contrary to the basic principles of that stage.

But Harrison's consistent recognition that plays are always to be considered as acted before an audience, not merely read to oneself, his wide acquaintance with even the minor pieces of Elizabethan writings, and his consequent awareness of what people were then thinking and feeling gives freshness to his treatment. Avoiding the pitfall of too personal a connection of Shakespeare's plays with his life, he says, "We cannot now know why Shakespeare's mind should have erupted so tremendous a drama and such pessimism as in this tragedy of *Lear*. But this at least is clear, that if he was expressing his own mind, he was also expressing the general pessimism of his generation." "Generation" is a broad word, but the point is well established for the years of the great tragedies.

The most challenging chapter is that on *Macbeth*, "extravagantly overpraised," "the weakest of the great tragedies." It is, Harrison says, "full of blemishes," "hurriedly put together for a royal performance," perhaps on the basis of an older play with the assistance of a collaborator, and some years later again revised and altered. This is surely disintegration with a vengeance. Flatulent end rhymes, bombast, glaring inconsistency, slight characterization of the minor characters, hasty writing especially of the later scenes—these are some of the faults which are said to make it in spite of "magnificent moments" and "patches of incomparable poetry" an "unfinished masterpiece."

These objections even if true are superficial. Harrison goes deeper. "By no stretch of charity can *Macbeth* be considered a good man or a sympathetic character"; Lady *Macbeth* is without any moral sense, utterly ruthless, lacking in imagination. Here we touch the basic purpose of the book; it is to distinguish what Harrison calls deep tragedy from other forms. He defines it as "a play which when adequately acted before a suitable audience can produce a complete cleansing of the emotions," and suggests as the conditions necessary for it, "a sense of morality, a feeling for the pathos of human suffering, superb technique, and a story which is itself essentially tragic." Harrison admits as deep tragedy hardly a dozen plays from the drama of the world, not *Romeo and Juliet*, not *Hamlet*, not *Antony and Cleopatra*, especially not *Macbeth*, but certainly *Othello* and *King Lear*. The test of "tragic fault," "tragic error" occurs frequently, but I find no reference to the less Pharisaic and more illuminating search for waste of greatness as presented by A. C. Bradley in "Hegel's Theory of Tragedy" in *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*. Is not emphasis on greatness of character a surer way to a catharsis of the emotions than an emphasis on its frailty? As Harrison admits, our opinions in these matters are much influenced by personal prejudice. It is reassuring to be reminded by him of Randle Ayrton's "shattering" performance of *Lear*, approached in my experience only by Nazimova in *Ghosts* and by an amateur *Oedipus*, of which I have never seen a professional presentation. But *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* have a similar poignancy if not grandeur. *Macbeth* does not create as profound a response perhaps because we are not as convinced of his greatness, perhaps because he merits the end he comes to, and we are satisfied rather than awed. Can poetic justice ever be as searching as a fate which leaves us questioning?

Every chapter has illuminating suggestions, but perhaps the introduction and the ones on *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Coriolanus* are the most rewarding. There is an index but it is inadequate; in the first chapter for example there are half a dozen topics not recorded which deserve to be.

GEORGE F. REYNOLDS

University of Colorado

DR. A. S. W. ROSENBACH

1876-1952

The Shakespeare Association of America records with profound sorrow the death of its Honorary President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, on July 1, 1952, at his home in Philadelphia.

President of the Association from 1934 to 1949, Dr. Rosenbach contributed generous time and support to its activities.

The Association has lost a dear friend and a most distinguished member.



Abraham Simon Wolf Rosenbach, 1876-1952



Queries and Notes

DISTRESSFUL BREAD

By G. B. HARRISON

In *Queries and Notes* (SQ III, 379-381) Professor Parrott comments on Professor Heist's comments (SQ III, 140-143) on my comments (in *Introducing Shakespeare*, pp. 37-38) on Caroline Spurgeon's comments (in *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It tells Us*) on Shakespeare. It may (perhaps) cut short this concatenation of comments if I interpose with an explanation. Both Professor Parrott and Professor Heist have misunderstood the passage in *Introducing Shakespeare*, which is not a Serious Contribution to the Study of Shakespearian Imagery but a light-hearted parody of the methods of Miss Spurgeon. It did not occur to me that anyone could so mistake my purpose, and I can only regret that Learning should have been so misled by Levity.

University of Michigan

FIRSTS

SHAKESPEARE IN PIONEER DUBUQUE

By MSGR. I. J. SEMPER

During February of 1839 the *Iowa News*, published in Dubuque, carried the following item: "The theatrical company of McKenzie and Jefferson has been performing in this place for the last ten days to respectable houses, giving general satisfaction." *Othello* and *Richard III* are listed among the plays that were presented. These are the first known performances of Shakespeare's dramas in the newly created Territory of Iowa, which had its beginning when Dubuque was founded in 1833. The McKenzie-Jefferson troupe included Joseph Jefferson, the renowned Rip Van Winkle of later years. In 1839 he was a boy of ten, who played juvenile roles in a company which had a metropolitan reputation. Fifty years later he looked back at this Dubuque engagement and described it in his *Autobiography* (New York, 1890, pp. 24-27). The troupe, having opened a new theater in Chicago, then a town of two thousand inhabitants, travelled in open wagons over the prairie to Galena, Illinois, and thence in sleighs up the frozen Mississippi to Dubuque. It did not arrive without a mishap. The sleigh which carried the costumes, scenery, and properties crashed through the ice, and it was rescued only after its precious cargo had been submerged in the frigid waters of the river for a period of six hours. It was necessary to delay the opening until the wardrobe and scenic effects could be refurbished. Jefferson concludes by remarking that during this tour of the rising young towns of the Middle West the company was often put to severe shifts for a theater. In Dubuque, however,

his company had no reason to complain of the theater which was placed at its disposal. It appeared in Shakespeare Hall, an auditorium equipped with a stage, which occupied the second story of a large frame building, known as the Shakespeare Coffee House and Free Admission News Room. This structure, which was erected in 1837, housed what was probably the first theater west of the Mississippi to bear the name of the dramatist.

Loras College

Notes and Comments

THE VARIORUM TROILUS AND CRESSIDA

The Variorum Edition of *Troilus and Cressida* will come from press in January 1953. Professor Harold N. Hillebrand, of the University of Illinois, the editor, presented the body of the book in manuscript to the then General Editor, Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams, in 1943. Before he could begin the final revision, he was completely incapacitated by a paralytic stroke. At this point, Professor T. W. Baldwin came to the assistance of his colleague, completed the manuscript, and saw it through the press. This was done at great personal sacrifice, for it necessitated the discontinuance for many months of work on Baldwin's own Variorum Edition of *The Comedy of Errors*. At the death of Adams in 1946, Professor Hyder E. Rollins became General Editor, of whom Professor Baldwin writes that he "has given of his time and advice far more than is called for by his office, though his contributions are not of such a nature that one can attach a symbol to them. He has, in fact, been co-editor as well as General Editor; and his work has been of basic importance."

This is the fifth work to be published under the auspices of the Modern Language Association, which in 1933 accepted responsibility for completion of the New Variorum Shakespeare begun by Horace Howard Furness in 1871 and continued after his death by H. H. Furness, Jr., between 1913 and 1928. The elder Furness edited fifteen plays and the younger, four. Several of these are yet in print and may be secured from J. B. Lippincott Company in Philadelphia. The four titles issued by the Modern Language Association are 1 *Henry IV* (1936), edited by Professor S. B. Hemingway of Yale; *Poems* (1938), edited by Professor Hyder E. Rollins of Harvard; 2 *Henry IV* (1940), edited by Professor Matthias A. Shaaber of the University of Pennsylvania; and *Sonnets* (1944), edited by Professor Hyder E. Rollins of Harvard. These volumes are all in print and may be secured from J. B. Lippincott.

The next volume to go to press will be *Richard II*, edited by Professor Matthew W. Black of the University.

All of the other plays in the canon have been positively or provisionally assigned to special editors except *Henry V* and *The Taming of the Shrew*.



SHAKESPEARE FOLIOS AT HAVERFORD COLLEGE

Through the generosity of William Pyle Philips, an alumnus and from 1948 to 1950 a member of its Board of Managers, Haverford College is the fortunate possessor of an excellent set of the four seventeenth-century Folios of Shakespeare, together with some fifty other rare books and a bequest of something over two million dollars. The event was celebrated on December 1 in the Treasure Room of the Haverford College Library, when Professor Douglas Bush and Professor Archibald Mac Leish of Harvard University and Miss Margaret Webster, Actress and Director, spoke on the general theme of the continuing

vitality and relevance for the world of affairs of the Renaissance writers. A descriptive and commemorative volume will be distributed, containing a biographical sketch of Mr. Philips, an essay on "Books of the Renaissance" by Professor R. M. Sargent of Haverford, and a descriptive catalogue of the Collection by Professor C. W. Miller of Temple University.



THE STRATFORD-UPON-AVON SEASON OF 1953

Elaborate plans have been announced for the Coronation Year at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford. The directors for 1953 will be Anthony Quayle, C.B.E., and Glen Byam Shaw; and George Hume is general manager. The Company will be headed by Peggy Ashcroft, Michael Redgrave, Marius Goring, Yvonne Mitchell, and Harry Andrews. The plays scheduled for the season, which opens on March 17, are *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *King Lear*.

Plans for an overseas tour have been matured, and about Christmas a company of thirty-three will depart for a 37-week visit to New Zealand and Australia. The plays to be given are *Othello*, *As You Like It*, and *1 Henry IV*. Mr. Anthony Quayle and Miss Barbara Jefford head the company.

Recently Mr. Shaw, Colonel Fordham Flower (chairman of the Governors), and Mr. George Hume were in New York to conclude arrangements for a season in the United States and Canada in 1954. There will be a season on Broadway and a six months' tour.



HAMLET ON THE HIGH SEAS

The earliest maritime production of Shakespeare was a performance of *Hamlet* on September 5, 1607, aboard the East India Company's ship *Dragon* (see Chambers: *William Shakespeare*, I, 334-335). To the personnel of *H.M.S. Pioneer* and *Assistance* must go the credit, it would seem, for giving the farthest North performance of *Hamlet*. A playbill, printed aboard the *Assistance* on blue paper, is reproduced in *The Month at Goodspeed's* (Nov.-Dec. 1952), XXIV, 53. It has the imprint, "Winter Quarters Northumberland Sound" [H. Briant Printer], December 21, 1852. Under the command of Captain (later Admiral) Sir Edward Belcher, the two ships were sent out to hunt for the Arctic expedition of Sir John Franklin that had been lost since 1845. It is calculated that the production of *Hamlet* took place within 850 miles of the North Pole. In his published account, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages* (1855), Belcher writes in part:

On the 21st, our shortest or no day, the seamen of the "Pioneer" and "Assistance" performed "Hamlet." . . . The performance, as far as we could hear, good; but some doubt as to the scenery—the preponderance of clouds at three feet above the stage, resulting from the condensation of the breath of the audience, rendering the busts of the actors barely visible.

INDEX TO VOLUME III

The Index to Volume III will be included in the April issue of *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

Shakespeare Clubs and Study Groups

Miss Melissa Hull, President of the SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY OF BRAZIL, writes in a tantalizingly brief note that certain manuscripts are in transit to *Shakespeare Quarterly* that come from the pens of members of the Society and former students at the University of Brazil. They will be welcome, as will additional information about the Society, its membership, and activities.

An attractive folder lists the officers and new members of the HATHAWAY SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA and gives its calendar for November and December. The Club meets weekly at 2 p.m. on Fridays. On December 5, for example, the program consisted of a talk by Professor Walter Ferguson of Temple University on "A Glance at Shakespeare's Garden." Other programs centered about Dickens, "Penny Art," national politics, and public affairs. The Club celebrated its thirtieth birthday on December 4 with a luncheon at the Hotel Warwick. The officers are Mrs. S. Herbert Taylor, President; Mrs. Paul G. Mattern, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. J. Walter Hamill, Treasurer; and Mrs. Elmer E. Briggs, Assistant Treasurer.

The SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF OXFORD, NORTH CAROLINA, was organized in 1898 by a small group of women and has held weekly meetings ever since. The Club was organized for the study of Shakespeare, and his plays have been read throughout the years except during the summer months, when other dramas and poetry are read. Membership is limited to fifteen, and at present there are fourteen members. The Club's Golden Anniversary was celebrated in the home of one of the founders with every member present and letters and telegrams of congratulation from former members who now live elsewhere. Three charter members are living. The President this year, Mrs. B. K. Lassiter, is a daughter of the first president of the Club. Mrs. H. J. Lewis is the Secretary.

THE SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA, is unusual in that it operates without officers and without formal organization. The membership is limited, for meetings are held in the home of A. H. R. Fairchild, Emeritus Professor of English of the University of Missouri. It consists at present of a minister, an ex-librarian, a former high school principal and his wife (who has taught Latin and English in high school), a young specialist in electronics and his wife, the former president of a mid-west manufacturing firm and his wife, a professional singer (lady), a nurse (university graduate in the arts), a Harvard graduate (history), a local actor (Shakespeare and classical plays) and his wife, and Mrs. Fairchild. Meetings are held on the second and fourth Mondays from 7:45 to 9:30 p.m. Last year the group read *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*; this year, so far, *Othello*. "Our hours," writes Professor Fairchild, who has reviewed several books for *SQ*, "have brought both some profit and pleasure; and some account of our situation may possibly encourage others somewhat similarly situated and initially as sceptical."

The Secretary of the TAMPA SHAKESPEARE STUDY CLUB, of Tampa, Florida, reports the following officers for 1952-1953: President, Mrs. Robert Prohaseo; First Vice President, Mrs. Walter A. Meyer; Second Vice President, Mrs. Tom Whitaker; Recording Secretary, Mrs. M. S. Ryan; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. James F. Shivler; Treasurer, Mrs. Otto L. Pehlam; Parliamentarian, Mrs. F. C. Metzger; Historian, Mrs. Marcus Alexander; and Advisor, Mrs. A. M. Morris.

A neat booklet announces the programs of the thirty-sixth season of the SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C. Meetings are held on the first Saturday of the month at the Emerson Institute. Seventy-eight active and five honorary members are listed. Among the speakers for this season are faculty members from the University of Maryland, George Washington University, Catholic University, and the Emerson Institute, and two staff members of the Folger Shakespeare Library. In May the Society will attend the performance of a Shakespearian play at American University. The Executive Board is composed of Dr. E. V. Wilcox, President; the Hon. Leander McCormick-Goodhart, Honorary Vice President; Mr. Dell Floyd, Professor F. S. Tupper, and Mr. James Waldo Fawcett, Vice Presidents; Mr. Alexander Ueland, Secretary-Treasurer; and Misses Ellen Walters and Elizabeth Waters, Reception Committee.

Contributors

Professor JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT, of Hunter College, the author of *The Evolution of The Faerie Queene*, does not limit herself to the study of Spenser and Shakespeare. She has in manuscript a book on the identity and literary importance of Sir John Mandeville and is completing a bibliography of manuscripts and early editions of the *Travels* to serve as an appendix.

Versatility is also a strong characteristic of Professor FREDSON BOWERS, of the University of Virginia, the founder and editor of *Studies in Bibliography*, the annual publication of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, and author of *Principles of Bibliographical Description*. He has in preparation an edition of the plays of Thomas Dekker; he is the textual and bibliographical expert of the forthcoming edition of the Plays of John Dryden; and just now he is in England on a Fulbright Fellowship, collecting material for a detailed bibliography of English plays of the second half of the seventeenth century.

Miss MURIEL C. BRADBROOK, of Girton College, Cambridge, is well known to readers of *SQ* for her books and articles about Shakespeare and Elizabethan drama, the most recent of which is *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry*.

One of the chief interests of Professor ERNEST BRENNKE, of Columbia University, is Shakespearian music and the use of song by Shakespeare. This is not his first appearance in *SQ*.

The literature and folk lore of Western America is the chief field of research of LEVETTE JAY DAVIDSON, Chairman of the English Department of the University of Denver. Since he teaches both graduate and undergraduate courses in Shakespeare, however, it is natural that he should investigate the history of Shakespearian productions on the Western frontier.

Professor ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH, of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, a specialist in the history of the Office of Revels, is this year continuing his studies in Cambridge, England.

Reviewing the New Cambridge edition of *Henry VI* is a logical assignment for Professor G. BLAKEMORE EVANS, of the University of Illinois, who is the special editor of *1 Henry VI* for the New Variorum Edition, now in preparation. He recently published an edition of the plays of William Cartwright.

The contributions of Sir WALTER GREG to the study of Elizabethan plays are so numerous and important as to require no comment. His most recent publications are editions of Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* and Jonson's *Masque of Gypsies*.

Professor G. B. HARRISON, of the University of Michigan, is likewise the author and editor of many books, the most recent of which are *Shakespeare's Tragedies* (see page 102 above) and an edition of Shakespeare's *Works*. He is a member of the Advisory Board of the Shakespeare Association.

Professor KARL J. HOLZKNECHT, of New York University, is perhaps best known for his *Backgrounds of Shakespeare's Plays*, which Professor O. J. Camp-

bell has described as "an important volume of orthodox, historical criticism."

RICHARD HOSLEY, of the Department of English of the University of Virginia, wrote the textual study of *Romeo and Juliet* published in this issue in connection with his edition of the play for the Yale Shakespeare. The book is to come from press in the Spring.

West Point cadet, Rhodes Scholar, and Professor of English at Stanford University, FRANCIS R. JOHNSON has had a varied career. His critical bibliography of the early editions of Edmund Spenser established his reputation as an expert in that field, from which he has turned now and again to the study of scientific thought in the sixteenth century and the development of English prose in the Renaissance.

This is not the first appearance in *SQ* of Professor J. L. LIEVSAY of the University of Tennessee, sometime fellow at the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Newberry Library.

Dr. LOUIS MARDER, of New York University, is the enterprising founder and editor of *Shakespeare Newsletter*.

Once more *SQ* is indebted to Professor EDWIN HAVILAND MILLER, of Simmons College, for a review of Shakespearian productions of the Brattle Theatre. In one of his letters he pays the following tribute to his teacher, the late Professor Robert M. Smith: "In my opinion one of his major achievements was his brilliant teaching, his superb use of the Socratic technique. In my career I have never met his equal in teaching. It is unfortunate that this aspect of his career was known only to his students, and that teaching, like acting, is a highly perishable art."

Professor THOMAS MARC PARROTT, of Princeton, is welcomed once again to the pages of *SQ*. No member of the Advisory Board has been more active in behalf of the Shakespeare Association than he.

Dr. RICHARD H. PERKINSON, formerly of Fordham and now resident in St. Louis, has thus far limited himself to an occasional brief review, but it is hoped he has some substantive contributions in progress.

A third member of the Advisory Board to contribute to this issue is Professor GEORGE F. REYNOLDS, of the University of Colorado, retired. His recent article in *Shakespeare Survey* indicates his continued interest in the physical conditions of the Elizabethan stage and the principles of staging. It is rumored that he is writing another book on this subject.

Monsignor I. J. SEMPER, of Loras College, the author of *Hamlet Without Tears* and contributor to an earlier number of *SQ* a valuable study of Elizabethan theater attendance, now provides a note on Shakespeare on the westward-moving frontier.

One of the few scholars in America to concern himself with the interrelations of poetry and song is Professor FREDERICK STERNFELD, of Dartmouth. Readers who enjoy his review will find a valuable contribution to the subject by him in the current volume of *Essays of the English Institute* (1951).

